

FEMALE BODIES UNDER SURVEILLANCE: GENDER FICTIONS AND THE  
DISCOURSE OF HYGIENE (SPAIN, 1850s-1930s)

BY

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DISSERTATION

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## Abstract

From the mid nineteenth century onwards, the publication of prescriptive literature for and about women increased in Spain and reached its peak by the turn of the century, when manuals, essays, treatises and textbooks for girls experienced an unprecedented boom. This project studies the diachronic trajectory of the discourse of hygiene in manuals for women, as well as the alternating echoes of and antagonism toward this discourse which are found in prose fiction of the same period. I argue that the particular Spanish ambivalence about modernity vs. tradition is embodied in the self-contradictory *discursive hybridity* characteristic of the Spanish hygiene manual. This same ambivalence is mirrored in the literary production of the period: novelists endorsed or contested hygiene's standards, establishing a collaboration or antagonism with literary style at the root of this debate. Attitudes toward foreign influence played an important role in this ambivalence for scientific authority was associated with the foreign, while conservative Spanish ideals were incarnated in ideals of domestic womanhood. This is true regardless of the ideological positioning of the texts: for instance, while hygienist doctor Pedro Felipe Monlau promulgates the myth of the authoritative foreign-influenced physician in contrast with the passive Spanish "angel of the home," novelist Alejandro Sawa's raw attack on the biases of the Spanish medical establishment ironically echoes the privileging of gendered foreign authority found in Monlau's text of several decades earlier. In this way, both genres, the hygiene manual and the novel, expressed in gendered terms the preoccupations about modernization and economic change in Spain, shifting gender roles and cultural colonization.

**Main hygiene manuals studied:**

1850s-1860s: Pedro Felipe Monlau's *Higiene del matrimonio o El libro de los casados* (Hygiene of marriage or The book of spouses, 1853), *Elementos de higiene privada o arte de conservar la salud del individuo* (Elements of private hygiene or the art of preserving the health of the individual, 1875), *Elementos de higiene pública o arte de conservar la salud de los pueblos* (Elements of public hygiene or the art of preserving people's health, 1862).

1880s-1890s: Francisco de Paula Campá's *Calendario de la preñez* (Calendar of pregnancy, 1887).

1910s-1920s: Pablo Areny de Plandolit's *Cultivo de la estética y belleza de la mujer* (Cultivation of female beauty, 1923).

1930s: Amparo Poch y Gascón's *La vida sexual de la mujer: pubertad-noviazgo-matrimonio* (Women's sexual life: puberty- engagement- marriage, 1932),

Félix Martí Ibáñez's *Mensaje eugénico a la mujer* (Eugenic message to women, 1937).

**Literary texts studied:**

1850s: María Pilar Sinués de Marco's *El ángel del hogar* (The angel of the home, 1859).

1880s-1890s: Alejandro Sawa's *Crimen legal* (Legal crime, 1886).

1910s-1920s: Felipe Trigo's *El médico rural* (The rural doctor, 1912).

1930s: Federica Montseny's *Una mujer y dos hombres* (A woman and two men, 1932).

To my family and friends, for their love and support

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## Introduction

“Austera para mí y seductora, en cuanto me sea posible, para los demás.” Esta es la fórmula de toda mujer cristiana [...]. Muchacha, si quieres ser práctica en tu hogar y realizar la completa misión que aquí se te viene explanando, sé austera; y para serlo, niégate a ti misma, toma tu cruz y sigue a Jesús (Enciso Viana, *La muchacha en el hogar* 1958, 118).<sup>1</sup>

A few years ago, going through some dusty, old books from my mother's youth which had been around our flat for decades, I found a manual from a Father Emilio Enciso Viana published in the nineteen fifties. Its title was *La muchacha en el hogar* (1958) a guide about how to be the perfect Christian young lady within the family and in Spanish society. The torn and faded cover clearly portrayed the author's domestic ideal: a young woman sitting on a sofa, happily sewing and looking at the reader with a warm and wide smile of satisfaction. As soon as I started browsing through the manual's crumbly pages, what struck me the most was its flowery rhetoric, which from a point of view of a twenty first century Spanish young woman was amazingly *cursi* (affected to a ridiculous extreme) but fascinating altogether. Besides this romantic style praising motherhood, the Spanish family, the home, and Virgin Mary as the perfect role model for the young reader to follow, this priest also seasoned his very canonical advice with most

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<sup>1</sup>All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.  
(I must be austere for myself and as much charming as possible for others.” This is the formula for every Christian woman [...] Young girl, if you want to be useful in your home and carry out the complete mission which is being explained to you here, be austere; in order to be so, negate yourself, take your cross and follow Jesus)

bizarre analogies in order to inspire divine love and respect for paternal authority in the young girl.

For example, Father Enciso Viana connected the authority figures of God, the chief of state (Francisco Franco) and the father with the help of modern technology: the young girl had to imagine the *National Radio of Spain* transmitting a program in which her father's voice and Franco's could be heard through the speakers. The Pope's voice could also be heard, although through *Radio Vatican*. For the author, these male authoritative figures became the speakers through which God transmitted; they were the ministers of God on Earth and the representatives of Christ. The hierarchy went in crescendo, from the lowest authority to the supreme authority of the Pope; the father was the monarch of the little state called home, Franco of Spain, and the Pope of all Christianity:

Transmite Radio Nacional: Habla el Jefe del Estado. A través del altavoz, la palabra de la autoridad suprema de la nación llega a vosotras, orientadora y normativa. ¿Le obedecéis? Sí; que no es el altavoz el que habla, sino el Jefe del Estado [...] ¡Atención! Transmite... ¿Quién? Tu padre te habla; te manda... ¿Tu padre habla? Te habla Dios. -¿Dios? No lo veo. Veo a mi padre. Sus labios se mueven; su voz vibra... Coge el prisma de la fe; mira. Tu padre no es más que un altavoz. (*La muchacha en el hogar* 32)<sup>2</sup>

In another manual from the *Muchacha* collection, *La muchacha en el noviazgo* (1947), the author used another metaphor of transmission, in this case an electric charge. The

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<sup>2</sup> (National Radio of Spain transmitting: The Chief of Spain speaking. Through the speaker, the guiding and normative words of the supreme authority of the nation are coming to you. Do you girls obey him? Yes, because it is not the speaker that talks, but the Chief of State. Attention! Who is transmitting...? Your father is speaking to you, commanding you...Your father is speaking? God is speaking. -God? I don't see him. I see my father. His lips move, his voice vibrates... Look through the prism of faith; look. Your father is only a speaker)



female reader had to understand that, to be the perfect Christian girl, she also had to set an example in the home and in society, pass on her sanctity and love for Christ to family and strangers:

El acumulador eléctrico se carga previamente de la energía que ha de comunicar a los demás. Y si se encienden las bombillas o se mueven los motores, es porque el acumulador está cargado de electricidad. Si tú has de comunicar santidad, tienes que llenarte primeramente de ella, y así encenderás las inteligencias de tus familiares con la luz de Cristo y moverás sus corazones con la fuerza del amor divino. (96)<sup>3</sup>

These analogies made a very strange contrast with the traditional imagery of Catholicism. It was well known for me that the Catholic Church presented Jesus Christ as the way, the truth and the light... but it was the first time I ever pictured Christ as a battery!

After reading *La muchacha en el hogar*, well before knowing what a conduct manual was, it was impossible for me not to wonder why not only appliances but people as well came with “instruction” manuals. Who read this kind of book? What for? Would the readers follow its advice? What especially puzzled me was the manual’s baroque style, full of literary tropes and the most unusual analogies. What was its purpose? I asked my mother, but she was unable to remember much about the manual, only that she was required to purchase it for a series of meetings organized by a neighborhood outreach Catholic organization, *Acción Católica*, during Franco’s regime. She was eighteen years

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<sup>3</sup> (The battery is previously charged with the energy it needs to communicate to others. If bulbs light up or motors run, it is because the battery is charged with electricity in the first place. If you are to transmit sanctity, first you have to be filled with it and, in this way, you will light up your relatives’ intelligence with Christ’s light, and you will move their hearts with the power of divine love)

old and, from the point of view of the regime, she had to be carefully supervised and prepared to start her own family in accordance to Catholic values. After reading Father Enciso Viana's *Muchacha* collection, I was determined to find out more about conduct manuals for women, their mission and their influence on their readers. Over the course of my research, it became apparent that Father Enciso Viana was only the tip of the iceberg of a long tradition going back to the nineteenth century and the gender ideal of the "angel of the home."

In our technological times, when we think of manuals we probably think of televisions, DVDs, and MP3 players. The conduct manual can also be considered a piece of modern technology, for technology is defined not only as a finished product, but also as knowledge or "know how" and what individuals do according to that knowledge (Wajcman 14-5).<sup>4</sup> Likewise, nineteenth and early twentieth century conduct manuals became a "handy" tool giving the reader quick and easy access to practical knowledge through a set of instructions, guidelines to succeed in achieving a practical goal, mostly being a successful and productive member of society according to the standards of the manual's time and country and the personal views of the author. These manuals provided practical knowledge on how to be strong, healthy, beautiful and well-mannered; information on how to take perfect care of the family and household finances, or health and moral tips on birthing and bringing up good citizens abiding by Christian morals. Nevertheless, what is truly revealing in conduct manuals from this time frame is the fact

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<sup>4</sup> Judy Wajcman's definition of "technology" in *Feminism confronts technology* is the following: The word 'technology' has at least three different layers of meaning. Firstly, 'technology' is a form of knowledge [...]. Technological 'things' are meaningless without the know-how to use them, repair them, design them and make them [...]. Technology also refers to what people do as well as what they know [...]. And finally, at the most basic level, there is the 'hardware' definition of technology, in which it refers to sets of physical objects, for example, cars, lathes, vacuum cleaners and computers. (14-5)

that they were mostly addressed at women, what suggested that there was more to these works than a mere practical purpose.

In a similar way to contemporary technology such as television, film, even household gadgets, the idea of supervising the female population together with the content and style of conduct manuals were a window to the dominant gender, class and national ideology of their time.<sup>5</sup> Stylistic strategies such as Father Enciso Viana's metaphors, analogies, allegories, and dramatic admonitions embodied the mission of the *Muchacha* manuals: not only presenting information in a more understandable, pleasing or urgent way, impelling the reader to follow its precepts in order to find self-fulfillment and happiness, but transmitting a message to the young reader which would shape her behavior toward herself and others. First and foremost, the *Muchacha* manuals conveyed the idea that women needed support and constant supervision from a higher male authority to achieve success. In order to do so, the young reader had to be convinced of the necessity to fit in a desirable gender mold: the standards of this author as a priest, the Catholic Church, and Franco's regime.

From the variety of Spanish manuals on and for bourgeois women available in the nineteenth and early twentieth century (on manners and education, religious duties, cooking, sewing, fashion) my dissertation analyzes gender ideology in hygiene manuals, *hygiene* being defined by its practitioners as the "art of preserving people's health" in order to "achieve men and women to be healthy, strong and well formed beings"

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<sup>5</sup> Wajcman argues that various seeming innocent objects undermine the freedom and mobility of certain sectors of the population. In a similar way to the home economics manual, cleaning products, domestic appliances, the positioning and design of domestic space, even the layout of modern American cities, which revolves around the automobile, represent a handicap for many women and low income families. In the case of the household, Wajcman suggests that women become dependent on the technology which was supposed to free them from domestic work, that is, give them more spare time and mobility.

(Monlau, *Elementos de higiene pública* 2; Pérez Mandado 18). Despite the inclusion of men and women in this definition, the reason for focusing on this genre in particular is that in the Western world, at this moment in time, doctors became the quintessential “experts” who tried to exercise their authority as guides with special emphasis on the supervision of the female population.<sup>6</sup> While in the present hygiene is associated with cleanliness, by mid nineteenth century the influence of hygienist doctors was felt in the public and private spheres, where they intended to supervise every aspect of the environment and daily life of the population as a community and as individuals. Their advice had to do with urban planning and sanitation, work conditions, the control of epidemics, discipline in schools, cleanliness, dress, cosmetics, nutrition, marriage and sexuality, exercise and rest, time management, appropriate and healthy leisure, home furnishings and decoration, home finances and more.

Countries such as France, Germany, England, the United States and Spain shared similar preoccupations which were addressed by hygiene and, thanks to the pressure by hygienists, were institutionally and legally supervised well into the twentieth century. Such was the case of prostitution, venereal disease, “normal” and “aberrant” sexual practices, orgasm and reproduction, beauty, cosmetics and fashion, all of which

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<sup>6</sup> The hygiene or “sanitary” movement emerged in heavily industrialized countries such as Germany, France and England in the early years of the nineteenth century, and was both a product of modernization and industrialization and a way to fight what was perceived as their backlashes. Hygiene’s public branch or *public hygiene* was dedicated to the preservation of health of urban populations, and was enforced by state authorities. Its mission was to avoid high mortality and epidemics, which were frequent consequences of the overcrowding of city quarters, the lack of adequate sanitary services and sewage systems, and the pollution of food, air and water supplies (Rodríguez Ocaña 18).

Hygiene soon incorporated the domestic sphere to its mission of preserving health through the branch called *private hygiene*. Most *private hygiene* manuals specifically dealt with the cleanliness and healthcare of the female individual, who was supposed to transmit these practices to the rest of the family. These manuals provided female readers with advice on sexuality and reproduction, childbirth and childcare, first aid, nutrition and diet, how to dress and beautify oneself, home finances and the appropriate care and decoration of the household.

ultimately embodied concerns about gender roles in the new capitalist society, especially the role of women.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, in the United States female “purity movements” joined hands with physicians and hygienists or “sanitarians” to favor moderation and sexual abstinence for men and women (Luker 611).<sup>7</sup> Nancy Armstrong calls the nineteenth century in England “the age of courtesy books for women” (*The ideology of conduct* 99). Since the late eighteenth century, English conduct books and *domestic economies* aimed to create a “specific configuration of sexual features as the only appropriate object for men at all levels of society to want for a wife,” and to separate the “new domestic woman” and her counterpart “the new economic man” (*The ideology of conduct* 96). Similarly, in the early twentieth century, German popular health advice books gave testimony of the heated debates about gender relations, morality and the appropriate roles for women in society. German feminists, who advocated women’s employment and pushed for the admission of women to universities, fueled the publication of these manuals (Hau 271-2).

The common feature of hygiene and conduct manuals worldwide is that they became “a site of gender contestation” (Neuhaus 449). They fleshed out concerns about the unhealthy effects of fashion on the body, women’s beauty and intellectual capacity, and

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<sup>7</sup> Both groups of reformers focused on changing the mindset of the general population about sex. They intended to eliminate double standards which exclusively blamed the prostitute and the fallen woman of the spread of prostitution and venereal disease, to also blame men. Nineteenth century American hygienists embraced this “single standard” since it gave importance to prevention, moderation and continence, hygiene’s most importance tenets. According to Kristin Luker, this “maternalistic” social policy which promised gender equality was discarded with the First World War, when the health of male soldiers and draftees was at stake. There was a shift to favor prophylaxis instead of male incontinence and, consequently, laws and policies against prostitution focused on women and exonerated men. The surveillance of women’s sexual activities was radicalized and even expanded to include sexual behaviors such as sex outside of marriage (Luker 616-7).

they measured female sexuality against male sexuality. Hygiene and conduct manuals thrived at sensitive moments such as the outbreak of epidemics and war, which were followed by psychological traumas related to masculinity. Being a product of fear, these works stoked up in the readers a feeling that society and tradition “as we know it” was at stake. The discursive expression of this threat to the status quo, to recovery and to prosperity after a catastrophic event was gendered. In late nineteenth and early twentieth century France, the defeat against Prussia, the 1918 flu epidemic and the Great War ignited waves of antifeminism and nationalism and “added health to the political agenda” (Stewart 53). These critical events favored the distribution of hygiene manuals on topics such as depopulation, the effects of alcoholism and venereal disease among others (Stewart 3). The medical experts were quick to denounce diminishing fertility rates and relate them to women’s masculinization caused by work and study. Many manual authors discouraged the use of contraceptives by connecting women’s health, beauty and morality, and by presenting women with romantic traditional models to follow.

Female readers were also threatened with physical and moral ugliness, degeneracy and disease when not conforming to traditional gender ideals (Hau 280-1). Even when physicians and psychiatrists supposedly granted agency to women, as in the case of female orgasm in American marital sex manuals from the 1920s and 1930s, traditional gender roles were strictly demarcated since these works appeared due to “the widespread popular belief in Western society that traditional marriage was failing” (Neuhaus 460).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> These manuals endorsed female orgasm for a woman’s fulfillment and happiness in marriage, but this satisfaction was always dependent on the male’s sexual abilities and his awakening of his wife’s sexual instincts. After the Second World War, with the post-war crisis of masculinity, American sex manuals during the 1950s and 1960s blamed women (not men) for the sexual dissatisfaction of both spouses. Instead of the more positive approach which called for the husband to improve his techniques during intercourse, at

The popularity of hygiene literature in different countries testifies to the extent of hygiene's influence and its importance in the last two centuries. Hygienist doctors even meddled in matters which had been traditionally the realm of priests, such as marriage and advising spouses, and they linked health and moderation to virtue and morality. *Private hygiene* manuals, which represent the core of my study, are the embodiment of this invasion of the medical "experts" of every aspect of human life, even the most intimate ones in the private sphere of the home. These manuals are also great examples of the medical obsession with women due to the fact that they focused on the domestic sphere and, consequently, they specifically targeted females.

In *private hygiene* manuals, Spanish doctors portrayed bourgeois women as caretakers of the family and responsible for nutrition, cleanliness and domestic finances in the home. Moreover, these women were described metaphorically as the smaller but essential cells who could keep together or break apart the social body. A serious threat in the minds of Spanish male hygienist and moralists brought this organic portrayal to the forefront: cultural and economic change triggered by modernization and foreign influence during the nineteenth century. This great burden placed on women's shoulders called for the help of male hygienists as supervisors of women's behavior "para que [la mujer] actúe siempre en provecho de la humanidad, con beneficio de la raza, y no decline por falsas orientaciones que, apartándola de su natural camino hacia el bien, la conviertan en agente de degeneración y de ruina" (López Núñez 4).<sup>9</sup>

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this moment women's sexuality was negatively portrayed as inherently "problematic, neurotic and faulty" (Neuhaus 450)

<sup>9</sup> (so that women always act for the benefit of humanity and the race; to prevent women from departing from their natural tendency to doing good and from following orientations which would transform them in agents of degeneration and ruin)

Through the dramatic analogy of a disintegrating body, the incursion of hygienists in the intimacy of the home through *private hygiene* and the male doctor's growing social influence were justified. As a result, hygiene relegated women's traditional healing practices to the realm of noxious superstition. The values propagated by hygiene were contrary to women neglecting their domestic roles to get an education, work or "pamper" and "indulge" themselves with foreign fashion and entertainment, cosmetics and flirts; all in all, a hygienic lifestyle was contrary to women taking control of their own lives in matters of health and morality. Inspired by the same rationale, in the nineteen fifties Father Enciso Viana recycled the metaphor of society as a body and families as its cells to advocate Spanish Christian tradition against what he considered the physical and moral corruption of modern times:

con familias desarticuladas, no puede haber sociedad equilibrada. Si las células mueren, el cuerpo se convierte en cadáver; si la familia se arruina, la sociedad desaparece. Por todas partes hay escombros y cadáveres; pero las ruinas más lamentables no son las de las ciudades arrasadas por la guerra, sino la de los hogares arruinados por la paganía corrupta de lo que ha dado en llamarse mundo moderno. Sobre los campos de batalla de Europa se amontonan los escombros producidos por la metralla; más sobre el campo social del mundo sedicente civilizado se alinean calles enteras y aún ciudades completas de hogares arruinados. (*La muchacha en el hogar* 9)<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> (there cannot be a balanced society with dislocated families. If cells die, the body turns into a corpse; if the family is ruined, society disappears. There are ruins and corpses everywhere; but the most pitiful ruins are not those of the cities which were wiped out by war, but those of the homes which have been ruined by the pagan corruption of the so called modern world. Ruins generated by shrapnel pile up on Europe's



By using the imagery of chaos and ruin to symbolize modern times and the purported shift to the worse in gender roles, nineteenth and early twentieth century Spanish hygienists argued that their close supervision of women's health and domestic duties reflected on the prosperity and happiness of all.

The manipulative role of male hygienist doctors towards women remained a constant in a period of ninety years, the time frame of my study: since the 1850s, when the market for Spanish popular press and conduct manuals started to grow steadily; the turn of the century, when the conduct manual boomed, until the Spanish Second Republic and the Civil War in the 1930s. In this last stage of my study political instability brought the conduct manual back to its full potency as a platform to express, but also exploit national concerns economically. Nevertheless, women were not mere spectators in this process. Starting in mid nineteenth century, bourgeois women took advantage of the growing market of the popular press in Spain and of hygiene's popularity to advertise and publish conduct manuals. At this time guiding other women in their domestic duties was considered a legitimate endeavor for females, a "survival tool" which smoothed these women's transgression of writing professionally in the public sphere. Some examples of female manual authors are María Pilar Sinués de Marco, Faustina Sáez de Melgar and Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer, who mainly focused on manners and education, sewing, cooking, fashion and home economics.<sup>11</sup> Some of their manuals included brief notions on cleanliness, first aid and childcare as part of women's domestic duties although, unlike male authors, this was never their main focus.

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battlefields; however, whole streets and cities full of ruined homes are lining up on the social battlefield of the civilized, seditious world)

<sup>11</sup> See Sánchez Llama, Íñigo. *Galería de escritoras isabelinas. La prensa periódica entre 1833 y 1895*. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra. València: Universitat de València. Instituto de la Mujer, 2000.

According to René Ragan, midwives were an exception for they participated actively in Spain's hygiene movement by publishing manuals and journals dealing exclusively with the hygiene of childbirth.<sup>12</sup> In spite of their public interventions, legitimization became a serious problem for these professionals. They constantly had to fend off the accusation of being intruders in the medical profession, which made difficult achieving stronger ties and a friendlier relation towards physicians. This discrimination was embodied by legal requirements for female midwives such as being married and of "proven morality" to be able to work (Ragan 68-9, 72). The fact that the hygiene manuals I was able to analyze at Madrid's Biblioteca Nacional were predominantly male authored is a testimony to this struggle.

Apart from midwifery, the medical profession was mostly inaccessible for most women of this period.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, hygiene manuals dealt with intimate hygiene and sexuality, information transmitted traditionally from woman to woman as in the case of midwives and their patients. However, at this moment this knowledge was transformed into a taboo for the bourgeoisie unless transmitted by the male doctor to the female reader, which was part of the process of professionalization of male doctors and the attempt to move female healing practices to the background. As a consequence, as Foucault suggests in *History of sexuality*, in the nineteenth century these issues were discussed widely but mostly under the supervision of an institutional male figure such as the doctor or the priest.

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<sup>12</sup> Some examples are nineteenth century textbooks written by midwives for midwives such as Francisca Iracheta's *De matrona a matrona* or the newspaper *El eco de las matronas* (1893-1900) (Ragan 66, 70).

<sup>13</sup> In the 1880s there were eight women pursuing a medical degree, while there were four hundred female medical students in the United States (Ragan 65).

As the saying goes, “knowledge is power,” this knowledge being conveyed by means of discourse (language). With the help of *discourse analysis*, in this dissertation I study the attempt by male hygiene manual writers to use written language as a self-empowering tool which intended to limit women to a domestic and reproductive role within Spanish society. Deborah Tannen calls *discourse analysis* the study of the “intersection of language and social phenomena” (*Gender and discourse* 5) which suggests the essential role which language plays in shaping our perception of the world, ourselves and others. In the case of hygiene manuals, discourse is the source of their male authors’ social and economic power at the expense of female individuality, a power which resided in establishing a reputation as reliable guides whose advice was indispensable for bourgeois women to achieve health, beauty, financial success and emotional fulfillment. For this reason, my goal is to study the trajectory over the course of ninety years of the discursive strategies male hygienists used to convince their female readers of their worthiness as guides, and the vital importance of their supervising female conduct. I will focus especially on the fissures which endangered this endeavor, for example the mixing in their manuals of popular knowledge with purported scientific “facts” on women’s physiology and psychology, and the blatant discursive presence of gender and religious bias and a national agenda in supposedly innocent and altruistic works designed to help their female readers improve their quality of living.

Hygiene’s maxims were moderation and temperance in every daily activity, self-discipline which had to be carried out by the housewife and transmitted to the rest of family members. For example, in the case of the Spanish population’s distrust of

vaccination, hygienist Álvaro López Núñez presented women as essential to propagate hygiene in general, and this practice in particular:

es evidente que la mujer ejerce una acción preponderante en ella [en la familia] siendo el principal factor del bienestar de los individuos que la constituyen. Obedece esta preponderancia especialmente su cualidad de esposa y madre, que crea vínculos naturales de inmenso poder afectivo, y a su función reguladora y aún directora de la vida familiar en el hogar doméstico [...] La mujer puede y debe en este punto [las vacunaciones, la prácticas que ordenen las Autoridades Sanitarias] como en tantos otros relacionados con la higiene, ejercer una acción saludable, dando ejemplo de sumisión a las medidas profilácticas y propagando los beneficios de ellas. (López Núñez 3, 18)<sup>14</sup>

If in previous centuries the priest and the devotional or prayer book had predominated in setting a life course for aristocratic women, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries hygiene came to the forefront as the pseudoscience which dictated Spanish bourgeois women what to wear, eat, drink, read, how to beautify and wash themselves, how to exercise and sleep, how to take care of children and educate them and administer household finances.<sup>15</sup> From the hygienist's point of view, the correct habit-making would

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<sup>14</sup> (it is obvious that woman exerts a preponderant influence on it [the family] and is the main factor for the well-being of the individuals who constitute it. This preponderance is due to her qualities as wife and mother, which create natural bonds of immense affective power, and it is also due to her function as regulator, even director, of family life in the home [...] Woman can and must exert a healthy influence in this sense [vaccination, the mandatory practices endorsed by the Sanitary Authorities] as in many other practices related to hygiene, by being herself the example of submission to prophylactic measures and by propagating their benefits)

<sup>15</sup> In *Ideology of conduct. Essays in literature and the history of sexuality* (Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, eds.) the ancestors of the conduct manual are traced back to the Middle Ages, when these books, in the shape of devotional manuals or courtesy books, were addressed at aristocratic wives and daughters or ladies who aspired to enter the royal court. In later centuries manuals on home economics, pamphlets on marriage and domestic life, and books on politeness were addressed to gentry families and richer merchants who aspired to a higher social position (4).

create the physically and morally perfect wife and mother, “the angel of the home,” an ideal of femininity which persisted well into the twentieth century. As a result, these sacrificed housewives would produce the physically and morally perfect child-citizen.

The idea of self-control of body and mind, the *mens sana in corpore sano*, was nothing new. Hygienic measures prescribed by doctors or *scientific hygiene* dated back to classical Greece and physicians such as Hippocrates.<sup>16</sup> However, in the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries there was a revival of the notion of moderation and the controlling influence of the environment on the human body and mind, favored by the Enlightenment obsession with reason, the classification and understanding of the world around us, especially the natural world. In the Western world, economic and political interests caused this classification to be done in dual terms: masculine and feminine, positive and negative, rational and irrational, measured and excessive, control and danger.<sup>17</sup>

Hygiene supposedly gave individuals who had not been physically favored by nature control on their health, strength or beauty, an opportunity to achieve them through “la limpieza, el ejercicio, la sobriedad, la continencia, y el preservarse de toda pasión, son los grandes elementos de conservar y robustecer la salud, y, consiguientemente, de perfeccionar y prolongar la vida” (Monlau, *Elementos de higiene privada* 547).<sup>18</sup>

Hygiene was devised to stand for balance, progress and prosperity of women and their

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<sup>16</sup> Virginia Smith in *Clean. A history of personal hygiene and beauty* separates religious and social practices such as bathing and cleansing from similar practices prescribed by physicians to cure different ailments, and calls the latter “scientific hygiene” (93). The word “hygiene” comes from *Hygieia*, Greek goddess of health.

<sup>17</sup> See Londa Schiebinger’s *Nature’s body: Gender in the making of modern science*. Rutgers UP, 1993. for examples of gendered taxonomies of the natural world during this period.

<sup>18</sup> (cleanliness, exercise, sobriety, continence, avoiding all passions, are the great elements to preserve and strengthen health, and, consequently, to perfect and prolong life)

families, even the whole of humanity, in contrast to the inequalities, injustice and backwardness of the old medieval-inspired order.

To symbolize this shift, in hygiene manuals plenty of light and ventilation were essential for the preservation of health. Darkness and dust became symbols of the past which needed to be disposed of: draperies, carpets, baroque décor, anything that gathered too much dust, were to be avoided. Modern hygienic housing required high ceilings, meager decoration, plenty of windows for light to come in and spacious rooms.

Cleanliness was the first and most important hygienic rule: frequent bathing, discouraged traditionally as dangerous for health and decency, had to be enforced strongly. Exercise and activities in the open were encouraged for all, even women of the middle class, who traditionally had been enclosed in the home. Despite this seeming openness and will to change old, intolerant practices, hygienists used systematically the idea of rational maleness versus unruly femaleness (or science and reason as forms of objective knowledge versus nature and instinct) as the allegory for this change from darkness to light: “on the one side, the clear-headed, masculine spirit of science; on the on side, a dark morass of female superstition, old wives’ tales, rumors preserved as fact” (Ehrenreich and English 29).

This “new order,” as Foucault affirms, was based on the power of a few who could decipher and “conquer” nature’s mysteries, the male experts or “masters of truth” (*History of sexuality* 11, 67). To support this idea, on the one hand hygienists became dependent on their female readership. They flattered women, praised their beauty, their kind nature which inspired love and admiration in their male partners, and their elevated mission as mothers without which humanity would become extinct. On the other hand,

contradictorily hygienists transformed the female reader in their inferior antagonist. They tried to create a gap or *symbolic division*, using Pierre Bourdieu's terms, between the male expert, the specialist or *delegate* of a higher power or group of dominant individuals, and the supposedly "uninformed," "irrational" female reader (*Language and symbolic power* 109-11) This represented a late eighteenth and nineteenth century Enlightenment world view which tried to erase "superstitious," "erroneous" and "harmful" popular knowledge, "old wives tales," and substitute it with the rational, scientific and reliable knowledge of the male expert. As a result, hygienists proclaimed themselves as the heirs of the Enlightenment and champions of progress, but at the expense of portraying women as examples of backwardness and superstition.

Great epidemics in Europe with the turn from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century gave them the necessary push, and hygienists and doctors came to supply the need for reliable guides and guardians of national health and morals (*Birth of the clinic* 25, 42, 70). These "experts" now counted with institutional support from the state.<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless, "authority" was still a necessary device in hygiene manuals to solidify the new hygienic order and the newly gained power of the doctor. A halo of professionalism and scientific rigor intended to guarantee the manual's advice would be followed and the *status quo* safeguarded but, most importantly, it made the aid of the hygienist indispensable for the

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<sup>19</sup> In Spain, whose rate of industrialization was slower in relation to the rest of Europe, outbursts of yellow fever and cholera popularized hygiene in the 1830s, although the publication of manuals and the teaching of hygiene at medical schools were not be common until the 1840s. In the 1850s the Isabeline government timidly started to institutionalize certain hygiene practices and implementing them by law (Blanco 319, 20). We will see how this gap favored the hybridization of discourses in Spanish hygiene manuals, that is, the mixture of the popular with the scientific, morality with health, tradition with modern technological and medical advances, and Catholic religion and the role of the priest with that of the hygienist doctor.

well-being of society. As a consequence, the hygiene manual and the discourse it contained were sources for social and economic power for the manual writer.

The hygiene manual wore a fake democratic coat, a coat of confidence and proximity from author to reader, doctor to patient. Its “handiness” due to its small format and cheaper production, its reader-friendly, didactic format and the authors’ willingness to disseminate their knowledge created the illusion of this genre as being altruistic. In previous centuries, aristocratic ancestors of the nineteenth century conduct manual such as the prayer book, or treatises such as Fray Luis de León’s *La perfecta casada* (1583) or Luis Vive’s *Institutio feminae christianae* (1523) furthered the gap between Spanish social casts. The nineteenth and twentieth century conduct manual, nevertheless, was directed at the growing bourgeoisie or, in some cases, at the working classes through giving away manuals as a gift to poor families, public readings or Sunday conferences for industrial workers.

Surely hygiene manuals popularized medicine, making it accessible and understandable. They embodied the modern idea of a faster-paced life in which people required quick and efficient access to information for problem-solving and the idea of “self-help,” of acquiring knowledge individually instead of the more personal, face to face transmission of knowledge in traditional communities. Their advice probably saved lives and improved the quality of life of the population. In spite of all these benefits, hygiene manuals represented an illusion of individuality. They conveyed the knowledge of an expert and fostered the dependence of the population on the expertise of a representative of the status quo, in this case male, bourgeois and predominantly Catholic. Unfortunately, the ulterior message conduct manuals conveyed was neither scientifically



objective nor democratic. Here lies the hygiene manual's multiplicity and intrinsic contradiction: altogether it was altruistic yet egocentric; democratic yet segregating; modern but retrograde. It praised women's nature yet presented them as physically and morally inferior. In this way, the traditional social net was never endangered, much to the contrary for the manual became an instrument of supervision of the population by political, religious and scientific authorities.

Hygiene manual stylistics played an essential role in exploiting, transmitting and exerting the newly gained power of the male doctor. Despite the fact that medicine and hygiene are applied sciences, Spanish hygienists always fostered the mystique surrounding scientific knowledge which grounded it on reason and objectivity, and positioned the potentially "unruly" and irrational female reader on the opposite side of the scale.<sup>20</sup> Feminist scientists such as Helen Longino and Evelyn Fox Keller have brought to the forefront of the contemporary scientific world the fact that even those sciences considered most "pure" are subjective; the fact that scientists bring with them personal and cultural baggage which influences the object and result of their investigations.<sup>21</sup> Critics such as Bernice L. Hausman apply the idea of *narrativity* to science, and compare the discourse of science to a fictional tale which divides nature and human beings in dual, gendered terms. Hence, science forces sequence and causality on what otherwise is dynamic; science conveys information, it intends to make sense of the

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<sup>20</sup> Throughout this dissertation, the terms "science" or "scientific" refer to their use by hygienists as knowledge of the human body and psyche obtained and transmitted objectively, that is, by means of reason and focusing on the object of study without interference of personal views, feelings, or other external factors.

<sup>21</sup> See Helen E. Longino "Can there be a feminist science?" *Hypatia* 2.3 (1987): 51-64 and Evelyn Fox Keller "The gender/science system: or, is sex to gender as nature to science?" *Hypatia* 2.3 (1987): 37- 49.

world around us, and passes this knowledge on in the same way as oral communication and story-telling:<sup>22</sup>

Disciplines produce typical narratives that match patterns previously established to account for evidence. This repetition of patterns is one way in which the sense of ideas as narratives [that is, as particular ordered tellings, as stories] is lost, and the information conveyed becomes instead a set of received ideas, facts without narrative history. (Hausman, *Do boys have to be boys?* 117)

The male hygienist's narrative "plot" and main instrument to establish himself as an expert was to use the supposedly objective discourse of medicine on female anatomy, bodily functions and intellectual capacity to present socially constructed images of gender as scientific "fact without narrative history." By presenting women's body and mind as designed naturally and exclusively for marriage and reproduction, hygienists tried to manipulate women physically and mentally into fitting a desired model of bourgeois femininity according to the political, economic and religious standards of their time. This role focused on the economic-sexual-intellectual restraint of the female body and mind in order to be "subjected, used, transformed and improved [...] manipulated, shaped, trained" and make it obey and respond to this set of standards (Foucault, *Discipline and punish* 136). All in all, in the same way to the *Muchacha* collection, during the nineteenth century the goal of Spanish male hygienists was to create a fiction

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<sup>22</sup> Hausman employs genital ambiguity as an example of how medicine makes sequential and dual what is truly dynamic. This ambiguity is surgically neutralized by doctors and categorized in the standard male or female duality.

of bourgeois women as only destined to be angelic wives and mothers, an ideal which they strove to bring into being with the help of the hygiene manual and its precepts.

In the ninety years of Spanish hygiene literature I analyzed, hygienists presented themselves systematically as delegates of reason and knowledge, representatives of civilization and progress or, more poetically, as saviors of humanity. In order to become a savior, first of all, someone to be saved was needed, so the fiction of the frail, angelic woman and her counterpart, the dangerous and sensuous “frívola” were created. Bram Dijkstra refers to the nineteenth century angelic female fiction marketed in art, literature and scientific works as the “cult of invalidism” (*Idols of perversity* 26). By means of medical discourse which legitimized and romanticized the hygienist doctor’s role as women’s savior, hygiene manuals contributed to the creation of the “female invalid,” a physically and mentally weak woman in need of constant supervision by the male expert.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the imagery in hygiene manuals shifted from the angelic, permanently ill woman to the empowered, dangerous *femme fatale* to emphasize the threat of social chaos if women broke free from the doctor’s guidance. At this moment, women were depicted as Pandoras or Eves, embodiments of male fascination and fear dating back to the Bible and classical philosophy which served to exemplify hygiene’s fiction of women’s difference and moral inferiority.<sup>23</sup> Despite these stylistic variations, the portrayal of “woman” as essentially opposite to “man” remained unchanged in hygiene manuals throughout the ninety year period of my study. While “man” was a token of civilization, woman” was perpetually tied to nature, instinct, superstition, fluidity and physical and moral weakness. Thus the male hygienist’s mission

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<sup>23</sup>See Dijkstra, Bram. *Evil sisters. The threat of female sexuality and the cult of manhood*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996 for more representations of the exotic, evil woman.

became to “perfect” women’s flawed nature, neutralize their dangerous and irrational side, and channel them safely towards the path of motherhood and domesticity.

In the case of hygienists, the *symbolic capital* provided to these “experts” by means of institutional discourse (Bourdieu 109-111) was the discourse of medicine, which supposedly transformed them in learned, reliable professionals. This *symbolic capital* was displayed openly in their manuals, such as the knowledge of disciplines like biology, anatomy and physiology, and being fluent in the use of medical jargon; making sure to mention foreign medical advances which demonstrated hygienists were up to date and cosmopolitan; knowledge of statistics, law and civil engineering in order to discuss sanitary reforms and urban distribution, even psychology to describe the intellectual traits of men and women and relate their prescriptions to gender and individual temperaments. In manuals such as pioneering Spanish hygienist’s Dr. Pedro Felipe Monlau, a curriculum of the author was displayed on the cover of the manual to legitimize the work’s content. Dr.Monlau was lengthily described as

catedrático de higiene; Jefe superior honorario de la Administración civil;  
delegado médico que ha sido por España en las Conferencias Sanitarias  
Internacionales de París (1851-2) y de Constantinopla (1866); condecorado con  
la Cruz de Epidemias y la medalla del *Mérito sobresaliente* en Medicina;  
Individuo de número de la Real Academia Española, y de la Real de Ciencias  
Morales y Políticas; Caballero de la Legión de Honor (Francia); Oficial de la

orden imperial del León y el Sol (Persia); Comentador de la orden imperial otomana del Medjidhié, etc, etc. (*Elementos de higiene pública*, front cover).<sup>24</sup>

All this *symbolic capital*, expressed through the content and style of the manual, intended to create the narrative of scientific objectivity, of hygienists being guided by reason, not prejudice. In direct opposition to the male doctor, women were portrayed as dependent, sickly and lost beings in need of constant help from the male doctor, husband, father or brother. This otherwise solid construction was not lacking contradictions which exposed and jeopardized the author's biased intentions. The most obvious fissures were

- 1) the mixture or *hybridity* of scientific, literary and religious discourses
- 2) the use of popular discourse (such as the refrain) to convey medical practices and knowledge, which contradicted the expert's rejection of "old wives tales" and superstition. This could also be interpreted as a danger to the doctor's power position over the lay reader, for it compromises the doctor's scientific *symbolic capital*.
- 3) privileging and romanticizing Spanish traditional customs against foreign influence, which is in itself a contradiction for hygiene was a discipline imported from abroad (France, Germany and England more specifically).

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<sup>24</sup> This excerpt belongs to *Elementos de higiene pública*'s third edition (1871). (Professor of hygiene; Honorary head chief of Civil Administration; medical delegate for Spain in the Paris International Sanitary Conference (1851-2) and the Constantinople Conference (1866); decorated with the Cross of Epidemics and the medal of *Outstanding merit* in Medicine; Member of the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language, and the Royal Academy of Moral and Political Sciences; Knight of the Legion of Honor (France); Officer of the imperial order of the Lion and the Sun (Persia); Commentator of the imperial order of the Medjidhié, etc, etc)

In the case of the mixture of science, religion and morality in hygiene manuals, Michel Foucault argues that, in the capitalist, positivist nineteenth century Western world, the doctor became a symbolic substitute of the priest in matters of physical and moral health (*History of sexuality* 60, 65). *Private hygiene* manuals, which gave women intimate advice in matters of cleanliness, marital problems and sexuality, can be compared to the secrecy and discretion of the confessional, where the priest traditionally had fulfilled a similar mission. In a way, the manual became an even more discreet and personal version of the confessional, encouraged by the late nineteenth century positivistic atmosphere which privileged scientific knowledge.

Cultural and economic peculiarities with regard to industrialization, however, make Foucault's affirmation partially true in Spain's case. The doctor and the hygiene manual did not substitute the Catholic priest and Christian beliefs for the rationality of science but, in many cases, they supported each other. The power of the priest as women's guide was never totally eroded, but doctor and priest explicitly became allies in the fight to encourage temperance against physical and moral excess. Thus, Spanish hygiene was considered a way to care for the body but also for morals and the spirit, since one was supposed to be the reflection of the other. The religious stance of Spanish manual authors, expressed either explicitly or by means of imagery, was the source of much incongruence: for example self-censorship in the use of language and illustrations in works which were supposed to disseminate knowledge on the body, or the presence in hygiene manuals of explicit anatomical descriptions of women and their diseases who, some paragraphs later, were portrayed as ethereal, incorporeal and quasi-religious entities.

Popular discourse, expressed through Castilian refrains, songs, poems and legends, was also omnipresent in Spanish hygiene manuals. This presence seemingly endangered the author's power position as an expert towards the lay reader since it contradicted hygiene's mission of doing away with old, superstitious beliefs. The will to substitute rancid, noxious traditions with the hard, reliable facts of science was symbolized by hygiene's obsession with fresh air and cleanliness, with opening the household's windows to let light and air in and get rid of dust and darkness. The use of popular knowledge in Spanish hygiene manuals could be interpreted as the logical result of the popularization of medical knowledge, a way to make hygiene didactic, more accessible and entertaining to the reader. Nevertheless, the authors' choice of these devices instead of mere simplification of the language in the manual proves to be revealing. It provides us with valuable insight into the authors' bias, his personal beliefs on femininity and national identity and those of the institutions he served, for the hygienic supervision of the Spanish population, in a similar way to the use of typical Castilian refrains, was also part of a wider national project.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, coinciding with processes of nation formation in Europe, a succulent new world of territories, natural resources and populations to be surveyed, colonized and exploited opened to scientists and explorers. As a result, the democratic claims of equality inspired by the French Revolution were neutralized by medical theories which classified certain individuals as "inferior," in need of proper supervision to be brought into the "light" of reason and progress. This was the case with other races and women (Fausto-Sterling 39). In Spain, a country which in the nineteenth century was losing its colonial power rapidly, hygienists set out to conquer the

female population. Like colonial subjects abroad, Spanish women became a source of economic *biopower*, using Foucault's term: the reproduction and work of a healthy and docile population was an essential source of economical profit for the state and its representatives, doctors. During my research, it became apparent that hygiene manuals especially targeted women, particularly those related to *private hygiene*. First and foremost, the male specialist needed to secure for himself a niche in the health market by discrediting and eliminating female competition. For this purpose, hygienists avidly exploited a millenary cultural and religious tradition portraying women as unstable, potentially dangerous and in need of guidance. They also took advantage of the more practical reason that women were an essential element in human reproduction, traditionally the first educators of newly born citizens, very influential in the household. Consequently, hygienists portrayed women as the sustaining "pillar" of the family, society and nation.

Spanish hygiene manuals made the physical health and proper morals of Spanish women a matter of national pride and strength. The traditional Spanish wife and mother embodied love, fidelity, humility and selflessness, absolute devotion to family, simplicity and naturalness. As Jo Labanyi affirms, cultural products such as the realist novel in nineteenth century Spain contributed to create a sense of national unity, of sharing a language and culture by acting as a public forum for the debate of different social, political and economic concerns (*Gender and modernization* 8, 11). Similarly, hygiene manuals aired preoccupations Spanish hygienists related to the moral laxity of modern times such as feminism, consumerism, substance abuse, prostitution and abortion. To counteract these "foreign" trends, Spanish hygiene aimed to standardize the female



population into the perfect domestic ideal by means of romanticizing the home and praising the perfect Spanish housewife. This was a “win-win” situation for Spanish hygienists. By not focusing on political or economical but moral reform in relation to women, hygienists guaranteed the fact that women were at the same time included but excluded from Spanish society, without granting them full citizenship (*Gender and modernization* 53).

Endorsing traditional Spanish domesticity as a means for political propaganda against foreign influence is apparent from the earliest manual I study, Pedro Felipe Monlau’s *Higiene del matrimonio o El libro de los casados* (1853) to Enciso Viana’s *Muchacha* collection in the nineteen fifties. Monlau endorsed Queen Isabel II reign’s ideal of Spanish domesticity, while Enciso Viana introduced mentions of Franco as the leader to follow in his manuals. Foreign women or Spanish women who followed foreign customs were depicted as not pious and frivolous but obsessed with self-indulgence. They became manly, not real women, not truly Spanish. These women were active and independent, studied, worked, flirted, practiced sports and tried to be in equal terms with men. In mid twentieth century, Father Enciso Viana lamented the fact that more and more Spanish girls were attracted to this modern model:

Me dan pena esas chicas que saben muchas Matemáticas y mucha Historia y no saben hacer una cama, limpiar una habitación o guisar una comida sencilla [...]. Más pena me dan todavía las que muestran disgusto por estas labores; no puede dudarse que la mujer, a fuerza de pretender confundirse con el hombre, va perdiendo feminidad. El instinto enseña a las niñas a jugar a las casitas. [...] El

progreso enseña a las jóvenes a despreciar las lecciones del instinto y sentir desgana por lo casero. (*La muchacha en el hogar* 137-8)<sup>25</sup>

Here the author was echoing the discourse of domesticity which Spanish hygiene manuals had used systematically for a century as a way of counteracting the threat of female emancipation which bloomed abroad. Ninety years earlier, Dr. Pedro Felipe Monlau, one of the pioneering Spanish hygienists from the 1850s affirmed proudly that

el destino de la mujer no es figurar en el liceo o en el pórtico, en el gimnasio ni en el hipódromo. Por esto las mujeres no han creado religión alguna, ni compuesto ningún poema épico, ni hecho grandes descubrimientos. Su destino es fundar las delicias y el amor de la familia. (*Higiene del matrimonio* 115)<sup>26</sup>

Like Father Enciso Viana, Dr. Monlau demonized the modern, foreign-influenced woman who did not follow her natural instincts to join a man and create a family as a source for physical and moral degeneration. Spanish doctors and priests shared the idea that these women were going against nature, against their instincts. For a century, hygienists had used their role as “scientists” to threaten the female reader about breaking natural law if they did not give in to motherhood. Suicide, diseases of the reproductive system, cancer, hysteria, nymphomania were some of the ailments these experts attributed to not marrying and not having children. On the contrary, motherhood was prescribed not only as morally desirable but healthy as well:

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<sup>25</sup> (I feel sorry for those girls who know a lot about Math and History and don't know how to make a bed, clean a room or cook a simple meal [...]. I feel even more sorry for those that feel annoyed by these tasks; without any doubt women, when pretending to be confused with men, are losing their femininity. Instinct shows little girls to play with dolls. [...] Progress shows young girls to look down on the lessons their instincts teach them, and to feel indifference for everything that is domestic)

<sup>26</sup> (It is not woman's destiny is to be in the lyceum or the pulpit, the gym or the race track. That is why women have never created a religion or written an epic poem or made great discoveries. Their destiny is to found the delights and the love of a family)

La guerra al hijo es motivada por el deseo de evitarse las molestias inherentes al nacimiento y la crianza de los niños, y, sobre todo, por la errónea opinión de que estas molestias menoscaban y envejecen a las madres, cuando precisamente la experiencia demuestra que las mujeres que cumplen los deberes de la maternidad conservan su salud y su hermosura más tiempo que aquellas otras que, violentando la naturaleza, se condenan a triste esterilidad. (López Núñez 9)<sup>27</sup>

Despite these similarities in content over the years, conduct manuals were not devised in a vacuum. Much to the contrary, they varied and adapted their style according to the times while preserving their traditional essence. Supposedly inspired by scientific knowledge, the hygiene manual's rhetoric was very distant from the dry, to the point directions in present-day appliance instruction manual, although their information was presented in indexes, divided in headings, chapters and sections to facilitate the finding of the desired information. Examples, summaries and highlighted concepts were also abundant to make understanding easier and facilitate memorization. We have seen how Father Enciso Viana, in order to be more effective and convincing, used technology such as the radio, a battery or a furnace to represent God's love and authority. Following the classic maxim of *utile et dulci*, hygiene manuals used plenty of imagery and literary tropes which reflected the *zeitgeist* of their time and place of publication: a torrent of literary tropes and devices such as metaphors, analogies, allegories, symbols, hyperboles,

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<sup>27</sup>(The war against having children is motivated by the desire to avoid the inherent nuisances of giving birth and nursing and, above all, by the erroneous belief that these nuisances harm mothers and make women age faster, when experience precisely shows that women who fulfill their motherly duties preserve their health and beauty longer than those who, violating the laws of nature, condemn themselves to a sad sterility)

leitmotifs... Instead of the direct language expected in a work inspired by science, the language of these manuals was very elaborate and the tone of the author was hardly ever neutral and “scientific.” The tone was overtly paternalistic, romantic, pessimistic, threatening, dramatic...

In “El discurso de la higiene física y moral en la narrativa femenina,” Lou Charnon-Deutsch affirms that in the nineteenth century hygiene infiltrated women’s magazines and fiction either to be endorsed or criticized. An example is Emilia Pardo Bazán’s attack against the noxious influence of a doctor and a priest on the female protagonist of *Los pazos de Ulloa* (182). According to Catherine Jagoe, Alda Blanco and Cristina Enríquez de Salamanca, the boundaries between medicine and literature blurred in nineteenth century Spain and “la distancia que hoy se mide entre las ciencias y las letras era mucho más corta y fácilmente navegable, presentando el aspecto no de una barrera infranqueable sino de un canal de frecuentes y fértiles intercambios.” Many times doctors were also writers or novelists, for example Pío Baroja, Felipe Trigo and Eduardo López Bago, what made medical works highly rhetoric and symbolic (*La mujer en los discursos de género* 306).

The semi-literary rhetoric devices employed in hygiene manuals reveal the strong ties between them and the literary trends of their time. The process of infiltration from hygiene to literary fiction which Charnon Deutsch describes was reciprocal according to Jagoe, Blanco and Enríquez de Salamanca. Despite pointing out the narrative nature of medical texts and how these texts shaped gender ideals, however literary critics frequently ignore the types of devices preferred, their origin and, most importantly, how they reflected the intentions, beliefs and personal interests of the authors, and their

assumptions about the female readers. In the case of hygiene manuals, they were clearly feeding from fiction such as sentimental or serialized novels. The close examination of their rhetoric devices proves to be of the utmost importance since these literary echoes illustrate the degree to which the manual's ideal of femininity was a fiction per se. This analysis can also tell us much about the scientific, economic and cultural peculiarities of Spanish medicine in contrast to other countries.

Contrasting hygiene's discourse with dissenting discourses present in erotic and radical naturalist novels or anarchist short stories is also essential to understand the ideological mechanisms underlying in hygiene manuals. In order to expose the fissures in the carefully knitted fabric of hygiene, I dedicated each of the four chapters of this dissertation to compare or contrast the discourse and content from a hygiene manual to a novel or short story from the same time period. I divided the chapters chronologically to study the discursive trajectory of this genre starting in the 1850s, with the consolidation of the hygiene movement in Spain and its first pioneering manuals; the 1870s until the end of the century, which represented the boom of hygiene manuals; 1900s until the 1920s in which the ideal of the "angel of the home" faced its most important challenge with the craze for female exoticism, foreign cinema and fashion, sports and the cult of the body; finally the 1930s, the Second Spanish Republic and the Civil War, a revolutionary time which witnessed the first female ministers, congresswomen, and soldiers.

In Chapter 1, Pedro Felipe Monlau's 1850s pioneering manual on the hygiene of marriage *Higiene del matrimonio o El libro de los casados* (1853) found a very interesting counterpart in conservative writer María Pilar Sinués de Marco's sentimental, exemplary collection of stories *El ángel del hogar* (1859). *El ángel* echoed hygienic

prescriptions on breast-feeding and the criticism of foreign maternal roles as threatening, while shrouding traditional Spanish motherhood with romanticism. Similarly, Pedro Felipe Monlau's style was, at the same time, elevated, didactic and exemplary, mixing the popular, the colloquial and the literary with the scientific, to prescribe Spanish women domesticity in accordance with Isabeline standards.

In the case of the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Chapter 2, I investigate the views on medicine and maternity of radical naturalist Alejandro Sawa in *Crimen legal* (1886). Hygiene manuals were the perfect representatives of what Sawa saw as a "corrupted" subjective science, contaminated in Spain by cultural prejudice and religious traditional views. In manuals from this period such as Francisco de Paula Campá's *Calendario de la preñez* (1887) I analyze the mixture or hybridization of discourses which Sawa abhorred the most, what he considered a blot on Spanish medical practitioners, a sign of barbarity: the mixture of morality, religion and medicine in relation to pregnancy and motherhood.

For my analysis of hygiene manuals in the first decades of the twentieth century, Chapter 3, I relate the literary discourse of degeneracy subsequent to the "disaster of 1898" to manuals such as Eliseo Sánchez Otero's *Higiene corporal y moral de la mujer* (1927) which, from a conservative point of view, long for the recuperation of the "maiden of old times." According to Dr. Sánchez Otero, this typical "humble, sweet and docile Spanish mother and wife" was threatened by the emergence of the "new woman," selfish, frivolous and a danger to Spain's racial legacy. I contrast this doctor's views on traditional femininity with the erotic representation of Evelina in Felipe Trigo's *El médico rural* (1912), and the erotic imagery in hygienic-cosmetic manual *Cultivo de la*

*estética y belleza de la mujer* (1923) by Dr. Pablo Areny de Plandolit. This manual and Trigo's novel are examples of the great interest in the twenties about sexual "modern women." Furthermore, they reveal the experts' hypocrisy regarding female sexuality, which was both condemned but exploited economically. This new discursive tendency is reflected in the stylistic coat of eroticism employed in Dr. Areny's manual, while still trying to prescribe traditional gender roles.

Regarding hygiene during the Second Spanish Republic and the Civil War in the nineteen thirties, Chapter 4, I investigate the continuity or disruption of the hygienists' fictive woman in a time in which women's potential in the public sphere was being championed by female lawyers, politicians, soldiers and doctors. Two examples are anarchist writer Federica Montseny and anarchist doctor Amparo Poch y Gascón. I will compare the portrayal of femininity in Montseny's short story *Una mujer y dos hombres* (1932), and Poch y Gascón's manual *La vida sexual de la mujer: pubertad-noviazgo-matrimonio* (1932) to male-authored manuals on eugenics such as anarchist doctor Félix Martí Ibáñez's. Finally, the *milicianas* or militia women who fought in the Spanish Civil War (1936-9) put to a test the notion of gender equality championed during the Second Republic, together with many of the gender stereotypes supported by hygiene for a century. Here I analyze hygiene war pamphlets for soldiers, looking for the presence of these female soldiers and how hygienic discourse adapted to the critical circumstances of the Civil War.

Pierre Bourdieu and Judith Butler consider ritual repetition of discourse as having the power to bring what it names into being, what in linguistics is called *performativity*. As Butler affirms, language defines the confines of sex and gender, it "exerts physical and

material violence against bodies they claim to organize and interpret” (Bourdieu 113,117; Butler 148). The hygiene manual’s tantrum of women as physically frail, mentally childish, born to love, marry and have children, beautiful and unintelligent, extremely nervous and sensitive or whimsical and unstable, crazy, promiscuous, insatiable or materialistic, helped create the nineteenth century fiction of the “angel of the home” and the late nineteenth and early twentieth century fiction of the frivolous “man eater.” A deep-rooted hygiene tradition, together with the revival of nineteenth century discourse and ideals during Franco’s regime, contributed to the fact that, with some variations, the angel survived in Spain until the late twentieth century. If this ideal was not followed by young girls, the threat of the angel’s antagonist, of becoming a “bad woman,” was always behind the corner and branded as disgraceful, even deadly. For a century hygiene manuals concealed discursively the fiction of female difference and inferiority behind the idea of a feminine natural essence. It is our responsibility towards our mothers and grandmothers to bring this to light, to do them justice for having survived and prospered in such adverse conditions, but also to understand ourselves and the present world better.



## Chapter 1

### Hygiene manuals and Isabeline domestic novels: Pedro Felipe Monlau, María Pilar Sinués de Marco and the power of hybridity

In this chapter, I analyze the collaboration between domestic writers and hygienist doctors to create the fictions of the motherly woman or “angel of the home,” and the male doctor as her savior. I will work with three of pioneering hygienist Pedro Felipe Monlau’s manuals: *Higiene del matrimonio o El libro de los casados* (1858), *Elementos de higiene privada o arte de conservar la salud del individuo* (1875) and *Elementos de higiene pública o arte de conservar la salud de los pueblos* (1862).<sup>28</sup> I draw significant connections between Monlau’s hygiene manuals and María Pilar Sinués de Marco’s didactic stories from *El ángel del hogar. Estudios morales acerca de la mujer* (1859). By comparing the domestic novel and the hygiene manual, my intention is to underscore the contradictions or *hybrid discourses* which expose the fictive nature of Monlau and Sinués de Marco’s ideals of Spanish womanhood. These contradictions are most clearly seen in the mixture of “scientific” language and medical theories on women’s health and beauty, on the one hand; and popular and religious discourse, such as Castilian refrains, rhymes and the Scriptures, on the other. Together with the use of the popular, endorsing natural breast-feeding as a duty of the angelic woman becomes a strategy to romanticize and market the angel ideal. I explore how breast-feeding in contrast to hiring wet nurses is

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<sup>28</sup> Monlau’s extraordinary success and popularity is clearly reflected in the number of editions of his manuals. I will use the 1858 second edition of *Higiene del matrimonio*, of which there were ten editions from 1853 until 1898, the last edition compiled in Paris. *Elementos de higiene privada* dates back to 1846 and *Elementos de higiene pública* to 1847.

used to differentiate Spanish women from foreign “denaturalized” and aristocratic women.

Casarse es negocio demasiado grave para resolverlo a la ligera y sin madura reflexión. *El día que te casas, o te curas o te matas*, dice otro refrán castellano; y con mucha razón, pues la felicidad o infelicidad de todo el resto de la vida penden del casar bien o casar mal. Suele decirse también que *El melón y el casamiento han de ser acertamiento*; pero grandes probabilidades de acierto pueden alcanzarse empleando para ello los medios conducentes. (Monlau, *Higiene del matrimonio o El libro de los casados* 1858, 80)<sup>29</sup>

Choosing a melon and getting married are two extremely difficult tasks to undertake, according to Spanish popular culture. In Spain, melons and hard decisions with unknown consequences have been compared for centuries, since it is hard to pick a melon that, once cut, turns out to be sweet. That is why another widespread proverb to refer to decision making (sometimes with a sexual undertone) is “this works like picking a melon, try it before you buy it.” It is typical in small grocery stores to offer customers the first slice of a melon to prove its quality. What makes this grocery story even more interesting is the fact that it was used by Catalan doctor Pedro Felipe Monlau y Roca (1808-1871), one of the first advocates of the hygiene movement in Spain when it was already well

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<sup>29</sup> All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated. (Getting married is too serious a business to be solved lightly and without mature reflection. *The day you get married, either you get cured or killed*, as the Spanish proverb goes; and it is very true, since happiness or misery for the rest of your life depend on a good or bad marriage. It is also said that *A melon and a marriage have to be chosen wisely*; there are many possibilities of taking the best decision when the right measures are taken)

known in more industrialized countries such as Germany, France and England.<sup>30</sup> Monlau became one of the most prolific and prestigious Spanish hygienist doctors, whose influence would be felt throughout the nineteenth century. This doctor was a man of science and letters: a linguist, a playwright and even a member of the *Real Academia de la Lengua*. His manuals were an awkward medley of scientific-medical theories and jargon, anecdotes, etymologies, literary tropes, and popular knowledge.<sup>31</sup>

Monlau's most popular and eclectic manual, *Higiene del matrimonio o El libro de los casados*, provided the steps to select an appropriate partner for marriage in terms of the age, health and personality of the candidate. According to medicine historians such as Mercedes Granjel, this manual became a source for sex education for many generations of Spaniards. It discussed possible complications of poorly considered unions, described the anatomy of sexual organs and the reproductive process for those already married, and the most frequent sexual diseases and problems (Granjel 128).<sup>32</sup> However, together with this more "scientific" content, the book also gave anthropological, historical and mythological accounts of marriage all over the world. It also employed the Bible, civil law and popular knowledge contained in Castilian refrains, songs and fables to support Monlau's statements on men and women's role in society, and the necessity of families.

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<sup>30</sup> The origins of public hygiene implementation dated back to the mid eighteenth century German *medizinische polizei*, linked to absolutist monarchy in order to "secure and increment the power and riches of the absolutist State and its monarch [...] a system of surveillance to guarantee the well-being of the State" (Rodríguez Ocaña 8). The first academic positions in hygiene were created in France, the leading country in seriously institutionalizing the discipline and using statistics to explain socioeconomic phenomena related to population such as mortality. England, due to industrial growth and the deterioration of urban living, adopted French methods (Rodríguez Ocaña 12).

<sup>31</sup> His play *Una tertulia a la dernière* (1828) was premiered with a fair success.

<sup>32</sup> See Granjel, Mercedes. *Pedro Felipe Monlau y la higiene española del siglo XIX*. Salamanca: Cátedra de Historia de la Medicina, Universidad de Salamanca, 1983.

Monlau and his manual, which was reedited eleven times until the end of the century, are great examples of the tension between Spanish tradition and morality and foreign influence in mid nineteenth century Spain, of the “contradicciones, limitaciones e innovaciones” in Spanish medicine at this time. According to Granjel, Monlau represented “el puente entre la higiene galénica y la higiene positivista” (Granjel 13).<sup>33</sup> This was a time in which economic and cultural liberalism timidly found a way in Spain with the death of ultraconservative Fernando VII in 1833, after an ominous decade of repression and blockade to the “noxious” influence of modern Europe. In cultural productions such as the hygiene manual, this lukewarm aperture during the Romantic period was embodied by its *hybrid discourses*: the linguistic and ideological mixture of supposedly objective “science” and foreign medical advances with Catholic religion, morality, literary tropes, romantic sentimentality and Spanish popular flavor. Despite being representatives of progress, hygienists endorsed the traditional family, what made gender bias a constant presence in their manuals. Monlau focused his admonitions especially on women, and went against any other female role apart from that of devoted wife and mother. In the same way than moralists, this doctor intended to neutralize what he considered to be a wrongful change of values brought about by modernization and foreign influence, as in the case of fashion and cosmetics.

Together with the hygiene manual, “domestic fiction,” sentimental novels dealing with homely life and usually written for women and by women of the middle class, proliferated in Spain in the 1850s and 1860s during the reign of Queen Isabel II (1843-1868). Taking advantage of the success of literary romanticism, these novels sang the

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<sup>33</sup> (the bridge between Galen’s hygiene and positivist hygiene)

praise of marriage, family life and Spanish tradition in a very similar way to the hygiene manual. Furthermore, they also expressed the same fears about Spain's physical and moral health in contrast to foreign customs, especially those reflected in mass literature such as French *serialized novels* and *folletines*. Traditionalists and doctors alike discouraged women from reading these works as they were thought to promote squandering, sensual excitation and class subversion (Sánchez Llama 24).<sup>34</sup> In contrast to these foreign "noxious" readings, the hygiene manual and the domestic novel became healthy and proper substitutes which preserved the health and virtue of Spanish women.

María Pilar Sinués de Marco's (1835-1893) two volume collection of didactic stories *El ángel del hogar. Estudios morales acerca de la mujer* (1859) revolved around traditional values such as marriage and motherhood. Traditional gender roles were opposed to the life of modern "dissolute" women who pampered themselves with foreign fashion and entertainment in the public sphere. Sinués de Marco's novels and conduct manuals, and those of many others such as Faustina Sáez de Melgar, Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer and Ángela Grassi de Cuenca, popularized the image of the ethereal "angel of the home." The angel was a "very Spanish," beautiful and abnegated mother and wife devoid of earthly and bodily desires who dedicated herself fully to her family in accordance with Catholic conventions.

The discursive juggling between women's physicality and ethereality represents the most important incongruity embodied by the hygiene manual and the domestic novel; the evidence that both Monlau and Sinués de Marco were shaping and marketing a gender

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<sup>34</sup> The word *folletín* is a loan from French referring to novels published in the press. "Folletines" came in installments in the lower part of the page or in a special section created for that purpose.

fiction. For example, one of the most moving sacrifices of these angelic, “ethereal” mothers was a bodily one: both authors recommended women to avoid the use of wet nurses and encouraged breast-feeding their own children, despite endangering the beauty of their breasts. This bodily tribute was meant to maintain the natural and spiritual bond between mother and child, in contrast to the denaturalization and coldness of aristocratic and foreign middle class women who hired wet nurses. As the body and morals of low class wet nurses were vilified in the process, nonetheless their image and the act of breast-feeding provided “a reminder of the realities of motherhood and gender relations that artificial constructs of femininity tried to disguise” (Smith 42).

Some of the most common medical worries in relation to women’s bodily and moral health and behavior, for example during pregnancy and breast-feeding, were present in both the hygiene manual and the domestic novel. The most common were the negative influence of the mother’s behavior on the unborn fetus, and the passing on of moral and physical taints to babies through the “corrupted” milk of low class wet nurses.<sup>35</sup> In this way, domestic fiction used and spread hygiene’s ideals on pregnancy and breast-feeding as not only morally desirable, a fulfillment of woman’s “true mission,” but also a way to enhance the physical and moral health and beauty of Spanish women and their offspring.

Behind the prescriptions by hygienists and domestic novelists not only lay a message on desirable gender roles and Catholic morality, but a national agenda which linked feminine bodily practices to citizenship and its duties and to national prosperity. The rise

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<sup>35</sup> The most important reasons for aristocratic and bourgeois women not to breastfeed were preserving the beauty of their breasts, being sexually available to their husbands to avoid infidelity and having more time for leisure (Smith 40).

of hygiene in mid nineteenth century Spain and the civic improvements it advised were part of the process for the centralization of political power in Madrid and the consolidation of the Spanish nation. The projects for the hygienic reform of the capital city of Madrid in the 1850s and 1860s came to symbolize the hopes for a prosperous and powerful national future embodied by the cleanliness, propriety and containment of both the female body and urban spaces: projects for the demolition of old quarters and the construction of spacious avenues and modern sanitation and water systems became signs of change and progress. Covered markets instead of street vending to avoid food contamination represented a shift in cleanliness habits. The creation of parks for citizens provided them with an opportunity to exercise and breathe fresh air, something very important for hygienic living. Paving, street lighting, laws against begging, the construction of hospitals, asylums and hospices for the poor intended to facilitate movement about the city and rid it of any “undesirable elements” to keep a good image (Labanyi 15-22).

The elaboration of censuses and the use of statistics to check mortality and birth rates were used to test the health of the nation and study the measures to be taken in case of a crisis. The elaboration of maps and the establishment of the *Peseta* as Spain’s currency in 1868, road construction, railroads and the telegraph system, all emanating from Madrid, came to symbolize the political and administrative power of this city as the center of Spain. Regarding education, athenaeums were created to foster literacy. Books were mostly published in Madrid in the official language of the Spanish state, Castilian, which eventually would be considered “Spanish” (Labanyi 15-22). One examination of the texts by Monlau and Sinués de Marco demonstrates how this “center” was created through its

opposition to peripheral areas such as Asturias, Galicia and the Basque Country, whose inhabitants were depicted as ignorant, backward and a physical and moral source of contamination. Such was the case of low class wet nurses coming to work in Madrid. Neighboring countries such as France and England were also contrasted to Spain and portrayed as immoral, cold or inhuman for not sharing Spanish values such as Catholicism and feminine decorum.

Class is also an essential feature to consider when analyzing hygiene manuals and domestic fiction. In *History of sexuality*, Michel Foucault underscores the power embedded in discourse (language and its underlying ideology) while in *Language and symbolic power* Pierre Bourdieu uses the metaphor of language as a kind of capital or wealth which bestows authority on its user. Taking into account these theories, the style and content of both genres are excellent examples of language empowering the doctor or male expert, mediating our perception of reality, and language used as an instrument to “bring an object into being” (Phillips and Hardy 3). These fictions created through discourse reflect “the interest of a specific social or cultural group” (Kroskrity 8). In this case, the interests are those of the nineteenth century Spanish bourgeoisie, which intended to create the physically and morally perfect bourgeois Spanish woman.

Industrialization and capitalism in Europe are the key factors which link the hygiene movement to the empowerment of the middle class. For medicine historians such as Esteban Rodríguez Ocaña, the obsession with hygiene in the nineteenth century originated from the appearance of the proletariat and the modern perception of population, especially women and their offspring, as a productive factor on the larger scale of the city or the smaller scale of the home (7). According to Michel Foucault, the



obsession with bourgeois bodily and moral health was based on class and power relations. The care and supervision of the bourgeois body, especially of bourgeois women, became a type of “racism” or self segregation: aristocracy tastes and entertainment were depicted by hygienists as physically, morally and culturally corrupting, a life of pleasure and dissolution, while the lowly life and aberrant sexuality of the proletariat also became a source of contamination. These fictions and the creation of the pure, angelic bourgeois woman helped ensure the hegemony of the middle class. Consequently, the cultivation of bourgeois bodies with the help of hygiene manuals, which gave tips on how to enhance longevity and obtain good descendants, was a strategy to ensure the political and economic predominance of the bourgeoisie (*History of sexuality* 125). For Spanish hygienists, bourgeois women were to be the keepers of this newly empowered class from the private sphere of the home. Family and reproduction of bourgeois values were to be transmitted through traditional childbearing and child rearing (Borderies Guereña 299).

Through “scientific” and literary language, Monlau and Sinués de Marco advocated this ideal of bourgeois, Spanish womanhood in a time when capitalism was bringing down the foundations of the Old Regime all over Europe, including traditional gender and class distinctions. The angel ideal placed very high expectations on their female readers: the angelic woman had to be good-natured, patient, submissive, humble and had to sacrifice personal interests and aspirations to devote herself to family exclusively and ardently. This renunciation was also supposed to be physical, eliminating any desire for

self-indulgence, either sexual or desire for material objects and commodities.<sup>36</sup> This made of the angelic woman an asexual, ethereal being, whose incentive was the reward of health, beauty, social recognition, all in all, a successful and fulfilling life according to male hygienists and female domestic novelists.

At this time, the boundaries between literary fiction and hygiene's supposedly "scientific" theories were blurred. This mixture reflects the tension between Spain's economic need to modernize, but also the male hygienist and domestic writer's desire to preserve a national essence in accordance to the traditional standards of the Isabeline government in Madrid. As a result, in their works Monlau and Sinués de Marco juggled with "fact" and fiction, modernity and tradition. Monlau's manuals and Sinués de Marco's novels were *hybrids*, stylistically eclectic. In style and content they mingled the old and the new, the moral-religious and the "scientific," narration and medical advice. Hygiene's disregard of popular beliefs in matters of health to encourage healthier habits such as bathing, exercising and dieting, clashed with the praise of Spanish tradition in the shape of refrains in works such as Monlau's. The authors' position in relation to their teachings was also contradictory: Monlau was a doctor, a representative of modern science and the 'higher power' of medicine, who mixed folklore with "authoritative" discourse. Sinués de Marco was an active woman writer in the public sphere, but prescribed domestic passivity and abnegation to her female counterparts.

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<sup>36</sup> See Aldaraca, Bridget. *El ángel del hogar: Galdós and the ideology of domesticity in Spain*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1991 and Jagoe, Catherine. *Ambiguous angels: gender in the novels of Galdós*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

To ensure their female audience followed their prescriptions, Monlau and Sinués created a halo of authority and reliability. “Authority” is the status of the writer in relation to the reader which, according to Pierre Bourdieu, is expressed through discourse in order to create a sense of separation and superiority, or proximity and bonding with the reader, when deemed necessary. In hygiene manuals, style tried to inspire the correct course of action on the reader by presenting the male writer as a knowledgeable, reliable and worthy expert in health and moral matters. For example, being fluent in the language which distinguishes a group or elite such as doctors from lay people, medical jargon, was displayed by Monlau as a manifestation of his ability and expertise (Bourdieu 109, 111). In a similar way to an entrepreneur, Monlau’s works accumulated linguistic wealth or *symbolic capital* by covering diverse fields of knowledge such as theology, anthropology, medicine, mythology, linguistics... This accumulation of “signs of authority intended to be believed and obeyed” (Bourdieu 66) functioned as a display of his success and erudition as a man of science and letters.

Monlau’s approach to women’s mission in Isabeline society was based on condescension: he portrayed women as sensitive and beautiful beings and motherhood as women’s natural mission. With this poetic rhetoric he emphasized women’s intellectual inferiority and physical frailty in comparison to men, which he helped support with “scientific” theories of his time. On the other hand, Sinués de Marco also praised women’s traditional role as wives and mothers, but her approach was that of bonding with the female reader, what Robyn Warhol calls “engaging strategies” (*Gendered interventions* xiii). She presented herself as an authority experienced in domestic virtues, which made her a role model for her readers to follow. Unlike Monlau, being fluent in the

language of sentimentality and using what Warhol calls the strategy of “direct address” to a “you” or “dear reader” (Warhol vii), Sinués de Marco attempted to create an atmosphere of confidence and intimacy. This intimacy suggested a beautiful, shared womanhood between the female author and her female audience. Nevertheless, being a female writer positioned Sinués de Marco in a contradictory stance towards her own teachings: she presented her readers with a proof of women’s intellectual capacity which Monlau denied them, opening a door to the public sphere which the angel ideal forbade.

Monlau’s achievements, which were displayed on the covers of his manuals, his heroic fight against the 1830 cholera epidemic in Spain, his continuous presence in public debates about hygiene and modernization, his participation in newspapers, and his extensive knowledge of foreign medical theories endowed him with tremendous authority as a doctor and guide.<sup>37</sup> He was a pioneer in introducing hygiene in Spain in the 1840s and 1850s when it was already a consolidated movement in industrialized countries such as England, France and Germany. According to Manuel Ovilo y Otero’s contemporary account of Monlau’s curriculum, he was a tireless writer, acclaimed nationally and internationally. He won numerous awards, participated in several national and international congresses such as the 1851 *Paris Sanitary Congress*, and was admitted to prestigious academies in Spain such as Madrid, Barcelona, Cádiz and Palma’s *Academia de Medicina*; Lisbon, Genoa, Athens and Constantinople’s *Academy of Medical Science*

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<sup>37</sup> The most famous hygiene publication in Madrid during the Isabeline period was his highly successful newspaper *El monitor de la salud de las familias y de la salubridad de los pueblos* (1858-1864). Monlau was the director, editor, and writer of most of the articles under his own name or pseudonym (Granjel 43).

and Paris' *Psychological Society*. He even became a member of the *Real Academia de la Lengua* for his studies on literature and etymology (Ovilo y Otero 79-82).<sup>38</sup>

Monlau became a very influential figure, a representative of Pierre Bourdieu's "institutional power:" by order of Queen Isabel II he became *Consejero de Sanidad* (Minister of Public Health) in 1855. He also was awarded the *French Legion of Honor*, the *Cruz de Epidemias* and the *Orden de Carlos III* for his heroic behavior during the 1834 cholera epidemic in Spain, when Monlau alone took care of the patients at Barcelona's *Hospital Militar* after the rest of the doctors had been contaminated or had fled.<sup>39</sup>

Thanks to Monlau's incessant public campaign to spread hygiene in Spain, its teaching at medical schools became commonplace in the 1850s. Before this time, hygiene had been a matter covered lightly in physiology classes. He even displaced foreign medical authorities in hygiene who had been studied previously in the Spanish academia such as Charles Londe and Christoph Wilhelm von Hufeland,<sup>40</sup> and became the first Spanish author studied in medical schools (Granjel 29). However, Monlau could not

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<sup>38</sup> Ovilo y Otero, Manuel. *Manual de biografía y de bibliografía de los escritores españoles del siglo XIX*. París: Librería de Rosa Bouret, 1859.

According to Ovilo y Otero's bibliography on Monlau, besides a medical degree from the University of Barcelona, this doctor also had a degree in philosophy from the University of Madrid. Some of his works in this field were *Elementos de literatura ó arte de componer en prosa y verso*, 1842 (approved as a textbook), *Elementos de literatura ó Tratado de retórica y poética para uso de los institutos y colegios de segunda enseñanza*, *Del arcaísmo y el neologismo* (1863), *Diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana*, *Obras escogidas del padre José Francisco de Isla* (1850), *Del origen y formación del romance castellano* (speech for the *Real Academia de la Lengua*, 1859), *Breves consideraciones del romance válico o romance oriental, comparado con el castellano y demás romances occidentales* (1868).

<sup>39</sup> These are decorations granted by a chief of state to acknowledge the merits of an outstanding person in matters of civil or military service to the nation. The *French Legion of Honor* was created in 1802 by Napoleon to acknowledge heroic soldiers, scientists and artists. The eighteenth century Spanish *Orden de Carlos III*, and the decoration for outstanding work in the field of health, the *Cruz de epidemias* or *Orden Civil de Sanidad* (as it is called in the present) are civil decorations.

<sup>40</sup> German doctor Christoph Wilhelm von Hufeland (1762-1836) and the Spanish translation of his book *La macrobiótica o el arte de prolongar la vida del hombre* (1839). French doctor Charles Londe (1798-1862) and the 1820 Spanish translation of his book *Elementos de higiene* (Granjel 27, 9).

prevent the fact that academic hygiene was based merely on theory and was used frequently as a springboard for medicine professors to reach better positions. The fact that experimental medicine and lab practice were neglected in the Spanish academia was considered by Monlau a sign of Spain's medical backwardness, which added up to its lower rate of industrialization and economic growth compared to other European countries. Similarly, living conditions and life expectancy were also among the lowest in Europe (Campos Marín 48).<sup>41</sup>

Queen Isabel II's reign represented an aperture to modernization and change, although very timid. Contrary to Fernando VII's absolutist monarchy, the new queen reigned with the help of a parliament divided in moderate liberals (conservatives) and progressive liberals, this division having to do with the extent of measures in social and economic matters. Moderate liberals were against popular suffrage and a full democracy, and for protecting the traditional privileges of the Catholic Church. On the other hand, the power of the Church over the state was denounced by the progressive opposition through the figures of Isabel II's confessor, Father Antonio María Claret y Clará, and the so-called stigmata nun, Sor Patrocinio "La monja de las llagas," who was accused of having transformed the queen into a religious fanatic. By the end of Isabel's reign these two figures, together with the queen, were ridiculed often in the press and depicted as

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<sup>41</sup> For literary critics such as Íñigo Sánchez Llama, Alicia Andreu and Alda Blanco, this backwardness made Spain an optimal target for massive cultural and economic colonization coming from England and France when the political atmosphere was more propitious and the government more receptive, as it was the case in the late 1860s.

Spain's mortality rate only diminished significantly by the end of the nineteenth century with Koch's discovery of the cholera bacillus in 1883 and improvements in urban sanitation. In comparison to other European countries, in 1876 Spain's mortality rate was 31.3%, 22.2% in England and 24.2% in France. In 1891-2, Spain's rate was 31.7% while in England the numbers went down to 19.1% and they remained stable in France. Finally, in 1900 Spain had a 29.4% mortality rate, what suggested that there were still great health deficiencies in comparison to England with a rate of 18.2% and France with 20.1%.

obstacles to the progress of Spain (Pageard, Fontanella, Cabra Loredó 36-7).<sup>42</sup> Despite its strong ties to tradition, the Isabeline government took the first serious measures to change Spanish health care through its institutionalization. Two examples are the establishment of the *Dirección General de Beneficencia y Sanidad* in 1947 and the *Ley de Sanidad* of 1955 during General Espartero's progressive government (Granjel 18; Campos Marín 40-1). Manuals and the popularization of hygiene were a key factor in encouraging this process (Campos Marín 54).<sup>43</sup>

Monlau was very active in this process: he became the secretary of the *Consejo de Sanidad del Reino* (Royal Sanitary Council, 1847) and a member of the commission for the regulation of public health inspectors (1849); he was sent as a medical delegate representative of Spain in the *Paris Sanitary Congress* (1851) and finally was appointed public health minister (1855) (Campos Marín 40). The 1857 *Ley Moyano* of education during the Bienio Progresista implemented mandatory education for children until nine years old, which required the standardization of education through the use of textbooks approved by the state such as Monlau's. The fifth article to this law made "ligeras nociones de higiene" a mandatory subject for girls in primary schools (Granjel 145-6). While the curricula for little girls included hygiene, "labores propias del sexo" (needlework) and drawing, boys studied light notions of agriculture, industry and

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<sup>42</sup> During Isabel II's twenty five year reign, moderates were privileged by the queen. Only in two occasions progressives won the floor with the help of revolt: the *Bienio Progresista* (1855-1857) after the uprising of generals Espartero and O'Donnell, in which some radical political and economic measures were taken such as Mendizábal's disentitlement of lands and property belonging to the Church. Finally, the 1868 *Gloriosa Revolution* led to the queen's demise and exile. Civil unrest due to repressive measures triggered this final uprising: the 1867 *Ley Nocedal de Imprenta*, a censorship law against the press which prohibited any comments on interior politics (Pageard, Fontanella, Cabra Loredó 30) and the expulsion of Krausist professors from Madrid's Universidad Central.

<sup>43</sup> Monlau briefly became a Professor of Hygiene at the Universidad Central de Madrid in 1854. After eight months he was dismissed due to the irregular forceful retirement of the previous professor. In 1867-8 the liberal *Gloriosa Revolution* claimed his position, this time for being a conservative (Campos Marín 52).

commerce, geometry, surveying, physics and natural history (Alonso Marañón 27). Once more, Monlau was a pioneer in adapting hygiene's principles to primary school education with his 1861 *Nociones de higiene doméstica y gobierno de la casa para uso de las escuelas de primera enseñanza de niñas y colegios de señoritas* (1897).

Monlau's wish for progress in matters of health favored his affiliation with the most radical branches of liberalism in his early career, during the 1830s. Initially he was a progressive liberal who had written for Catalan leftist newspapers, such as *El vapor* and *El Constitucional*, against the regent María Cristina and moderate liberalism, and had even participated in Catalan regionalist newspapers such as 1841 *El popular. Diario de los intereses de Cataluña* (Campos Marín 30-33). At this time Monlau tried to foster "diversas empresas científicas que trataron de modernizar la medicina española, elevándola a la altura europea" (Campos Marín 15). A symbol of his commitment to change and modernization was winning a competition for the best scientific paper in favor of the demolition of the medieval walls of Barcelona in order to facilitate expansion and better health and services in the city's quarters (Campos Marín 34-5). Nevertheless, his initial "radicalism" and attacks against the moderate government's backwardness and neglect of medical issues led him to exile in the Canary Islands, from which he was able to escape to Paris. In Paris he would continue to study and write for two years, where he became acquainted with French medicine and law. After his exile, in 1846 he established himself in Madrid, the capital of the nation, where he decided to moderate his political position and work for the central government. At this time he championed a conservative point of view by mixing his defense of hygiene as a sign of advance and civilization with



traditional views, especially in matters of religion, gender, and national propriety regarding female fashion, cosmetics and luxury imports.

Monlau's eclecticism and ambivalence towards Spain's modernization were his trademarks in his professional career and within his writings, a tendency probably accentuated by his past problems with the central government. The linguistic concept of *code-switching* can be applied metaphorically to the eclectic style of hygiene manuals in general, and Monlau's in particular. *Code switching* is defined as "the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode," a linguistic strategy used as a "boundary-leveling or boundary-maintaining strategy [...] an important part of social mechanisms of negotiation and definition of social roles, networks and boundaries" (Heller 1). Frequently, *code switching* is related to boundary-leveling, that is, creating a sense of community among speakers who are able to speak two languages in contrast to monolingual speakers. It can also create a boundary when used to challenge the dominant language, a resistance to cultural domination (Gal 249).

In Monlau's case, he was trying to differentiate his works from those of other countries which had an important cultural and economic influence on Spain, such as France and England. He juggled with two types of discourses, the discourse of hygiene and medicine, coming from abroad, and the discourse of Spanish tradition. Thanks to this *code-switching* or *discursive hybridity* he became an influential figure within a conservative state which encouraged national values. Being a discipline coming from abroad and new to Spain, and to support his claims of hygiene as a civilizing factor, Monlau could not avoid quoting foreign authorities in hygiene, anatomy, physiology, philosophy and ethics extensively. These authorities were from countries such as

Germany, Austria, Denmark, England and France. Some of them had radical points of view from a Spanish conservative perspective. With some of these authorities Monlau agreed, and sometimes he disagreed with or ridiculed potentially “dangerous” theories for Spanish moral standards. Some examples of foreign authorities he quoted are Platner, Camper, Van Swieten, Buffon, Winslow, and Rousseau against the use of the corset, point of view which Monlau supported (*Elementos de higiene privada* 68).<sup>44</sup>

Monlau also quoted Descartes and Londe about the civilizing effects of hygiene to avoid human degeneration (*Elementos de higiene privada* 2); Hufeland about the necessity of bathing, practice which Monlau was trying to generalize against traditional religious arguments on the undecency of nakedness and washing (*Elementos de Higiene Privada* 79); French lawyer Adolfo Trebuchet about medical jurisprudence and the importance of doctors in society (*Elementos de Higiene Pública* 162); Cabanis about women’s affective nature and their destiny as wives and mothers, position Monlau supported with no reservations (*Higiene del matrimonio* 115); Lallemand about the human species’ innegable ties to reproduction, although Monlau applies this statement especially to women (*Higiene del matrimonio* 116); Bichat about sperm secretion in relation to body fat, in order to avoid excessive sexual expense (*Higiene del matrimonio* 136); Kobelt about male and female orgasm. In this last case Monlau did not agree with Kobelt’s claim that women had more intense and prolonged orgasms than men, and changed topics cynically by saying “mientras se ponen de acuerdo los anatómicos y

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<sup>44</sup> Gerard Van Swieten (1700-1772), Austrian physician famous for fighting against popular superstition such as vampirism. Georges Luois Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707-1788) naturalist. Jacob B. Winslow (1669-1760) Danish anatomist. Pierre Jean George Cabanis (1757-1808) French physiologist and professor of hygiene in Paris. Claude François Lallemand (1790-1854) French physician and surgeon. Georg Ludwig Kobelt (1804-1857) German anatomist focusing on genitalia. Marie François Xavier Bichat (1771-1802) French anatomist and physiologist.

fisiólogos, nosotros cortaremos esta cuestión, que tiene algo de impertinente [...]”  
(*Higiene del matrimonio* 147).<sup>45</sup>

Monlau’s collaboration with the Isabeline government, embodied by the language of Spanish tradition, intended to create a sense of community between his readers; the “imagined community” of the “Spanish people,” using Benedict Anderson’s term. For Anderson, the mass produced book and the popular press played an essential role in nation formation, in creating this sense of sharing common values among vast numbers of people who had never seen or heard of each other (*Imagined communities* 6). Anderson compares the reading of a newspaper to a mass ceremony which is

performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the skull. Yet each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion. (*Imagined communities* 35)

Similarly, the private reading of Monlau’s manuals was intended to create in his audience a sense of *Spanishness*, of a shared, valuable past. Monlau’s message was that hygiene, adapted to the Spanish context, could coexist with Spanish tradition. This was stylistically conveyed in his manuals by the defense of Catholicism and the role of the priest, the use of popular Castilian refrains, and the praise of natural breast-feeding and the angelic woman.

According to Michel Foucault, in the nineteenth century in countries such as England and France the scientist and doctor substituted the priest in matters of guiding the conduct

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<sup>45</sup> (While anatomists and physiologists decide on this issue, we will end this matter, which is a little bit impudent)

of the population. For example, the practice of inquiring into people's lives, in a similar way to confession, was taken over by doctors (*History of sexuality* 59-60). In the case of Isabeline Spain, however, doctors such as Monlau made sure to emphasize that they were not by any means trying to usurp the priest's role, but they needed to collaborate for the well-being of citizens. This relationship was embodied by the metaphor of the hygienist doctor as savior, a rhetoric device Monlau used fondly in his manuals. Hygiene for Monlau

salva a los pueblos; la higiene privada nos revela las condiciones de nuestra conservación personal, y la higiene pública las del progreso social. La Higiene, por último, ha hecho sentir sus beneficiosos efectos en nuestra misma Europa. Si cada veinticinco años no sobrevienen ya asoladoras epidemias que diezmen su población; si la asquerosa lepra ha casi desaparecido de su superficie; si la peste expira en nuestras playas [...] a la Higiene pública lo debemos todo. ¡Calcúlese ahora toda la importancia que tiene este arte salvador! (*Elementos de higiene pública* 6)<sup>46</sup>

Here hygiene and the illnesses it heroically eliminates are impassionedly personified to emphasize and dramatize the importance of the discipline and the doctors who implement it: the “asoladoras” and “asquerosas” leprosy and the plague “expire” on European shores thanks to hygiene and the provider of this salvation, the hygienist. However, the concept

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<sup>46</sup> ([hygiene] saves people; private hygiene reveals to us the conditions of our personal preservation, and public hygiene those of social progress. Hygiene, finally, has made its beneficial effects felt in our Europe. If devastating epidemics do not decimate the population every twenty five years; if the revolting leprosy has almost been obliterated from the face of Europe; if the plague expires in our shores [...] we owe it all to Hygiene. Mark now the importance of this life-saving art!)

of salvation provides Monlau with a cue to switch from the praise of Europe's medical progress to emphasizing the need of linking medicine and religion.

Monlau frequently alluded to God and equated his job as a hygienist to that of a Catholic priest. This gave him an extra coat of authority if we take into account that the confessor was a very important figure in the lives of bourgeois women in Isabeline Spain, including the queen. He seasoned these allusions with a romantic and dramatic tone achieved with the help of exclamation and hyperbole, of which Monlau was very fond. If hygiene was for Monlau an "arte salvador," through a simile the doctor was equated to a priest

a quien se revelan todas las llagas del cuerpo, como al sacerdote todas las flaquezas del alma [...] a quien una madre cuenta cosas capaces de deshonorar cien veces a su hija, y sin embargo se las cuenta sin temor, sin reserva, con toda claridad, porque sabe que aquel hombre puede curarla o volverle la vida [...] ¡Honor y gloria (exclama Trebuchet) a la profesión que tanta confianza inspira! ¡Oprobio y reprobación, ante Dios y antes los hombres, a los que vendan la confianza de sus clientes! (*Elementos de higiene pública* 166)<sup>47</sup>

In this passage Monlau superimposed different layers of references to illustrate the doctor's supposed objectivity and ethical integrity, that of an expert and scientist.

However, his examples jeopardized the very objectivity he was trying to defend. The

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<sup>47</sup> (to whom all the body's wounds are revealed, like the weaknesses of the soul to the priest [...] to whom a mother tells things capable of dishonoring her daughter a hundred times and, however, she tells him without fear, without reservations, with absolute clarity, because she knows that this man can save her and bring her back to life [...] Honor and glory (Trebuchet exclaims) to this profession which inspires so much trust! ¡Ignominy and reprobation, before God and men, to those who sell their clients' trust!)

“llagas” (sores, wounds) are typical religious imagery in relation to Christ’s calvary. To soothe these wounds of the body, just as the priest soothed the wounds of the soul during confession, discretion was a must to safeguard the people who sought their help. The doctor, as a man of science, neither judged nor denounced his client’s “crimes.” Contradictorily, to illustrate this Monlau used the baroque cliché of female “honra” or honor, suggesting female virtue or promiscuity, side by side with the example of a wounded criminal who confided in the doctor. This comparison created a link between the woman and the criminal.

Monlau’s unstable construction of scientific objectivity was jeopardized when he subsequently lamented how medicine in general, and hygiene in particular, strove sadly to be separate from religion. Historical erudition was used by Monlau to legitimize the relationship between religion and cleanliness: he presented ancient peoples such as the Chaldeans, Egyptians and the Jews as examples of the benefits of imprinting hygienic practices with a sense of religious respect and obligation. He wished dramatically that “¡Ojalá que siempre hubiese sido uno, o que nunca hubiese debido separarse, el triple sacerdocio de la Religión, de las leyes y de la Medicina!” (*Elementos de higiene pública* 9).<sup>48</sup>

The collaboration between the Spanish hygienist doctor and the priest is especially apparent in *Higiene del matrimonio o El libro de los casados*, Monlau’s most blatant example of *discursive hybridity* and gender bias. The motivation behind this manual was the hygienists’ conviction that marriage was the formula for personal and national prosperity and, thus, it had to be supervised carefully by the hygienist doctor to yield

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<sup>48</sup> (I wish the triple priesthood of Religion, Law and Medicine had remained as one!)

good results. For this purpose, this manual covered intimate topics such as the anatomy of sexual organs, virginity, copulation, male impotence, fecundation, conception, male and female sterility, menstruation, pregnancy, abortion, birth, and the education of children.

In the introduction to *Higiene del matrimonio*, Monlau emphasizes that the priest and the hygienist doctor needed to collaborate in order to provide couples with the guidelines to choose an adequate partner to marry. Monlau himself offered his manual to doctors, surgeons, midwives, married couples and priests who needed to give delicate advice to spouses during confession, priests whose

voz siempre respetable y consoladora [de estos médicos del alma] recibirá, *si es posible*, nueva autoridad, cuando a su carácter de ministros de la religión divina quieran añadir el de conocedores e intérpretes de la ciencia humana (*Higiene del matrimonio* vi, emphasis mine).<sup>49</sup>

With this romantic and metaphor-laden advisory note for the prospective readers, Monlau reassured his own authority for, with hygiene, he completed the Catholic priest's knowledge. However, he suggested that this may not be possible, thus paying homage to the priest's great wisdom and reassuring the priest's role as a "doctor of the soul" and the doctor's as a "priest of the temple of the body" in Isabeline Spain. With this discursive strategy, Monlau obtained the clergy and state's approval for *Higiene del matrimonio* and the license for the manual to be considered a textbook.

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<sup>49</sup> (The always respectable and consoling voice of these doctors of the soul will acquire, *if possible*, new authority when they add to their attributes as ministers of divine religion that of experts and interpreters of human science)

The format and register in Monlau's manuals were clearly a bow to national Isabeline standards. The author strove to separate his manuals from foreign medical treatises or "librejos inmundos con groseras páginas, obscenas estampas [en las que] busca inspiraciones eróticas la inexperta juventud" (*Higiene del matrimonio* vii), eliminating illustrations of genitalia which could give his work any shade of eroticism:<sup>50</sup>

[Mi Higiene del matrimonio] no es una obrilla de esas que se han de leer en secreto, como quien comete una mala acción, no: mi libro es una verdadera HIGIENE DEL MATRIMONIO, es una obra seria, es una obra filosófica y médica, que se puede leer sin empacho ni escrúpulo de conciencia, porque se propone un fin moral, útil y saludable, fin para cuya consecución he empleado cuantos medios han podido sugerirme mis ardientes deseos del mayor acierto.

(Monlau vii, viii)<sup>51</sup>

The idea of erotic titillation was used by Monlau to make a plea to morally differentiate Spain from other countries in which hygiene and manuals were not "serious, philosophical works" but "filthy books" which openly displayed lewd illustrations and corrupted youth. In his manual, the only illustrations besides a few drawings of internal reproductive organs and the fetus in the uterus, were contained in an album of romantic engravings about marriage rituals and ceremonies around the world.<sup>52</sup> He also self-

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<sup>50</sup> (Little filthy books with coarse pages, obscene pictures [...] in which inexperienced youths look for erotic inspiration)

<sup>51</sup> This quotation belongs to the third edition of *Higiene del matrimonio*, dated 1865. ([My *Hygiene of marriage*] is not one of those little books which one has to read in secrecy, as if carrying out a bad action, not at all; my book is a true HYGIENE OF MARRIAGE, a serious work, a philosophical and medical work which one can read without embarrassment or scruples, because its purpose is moral, useful and healthy, a purpose for which I have employed as many means my wish to be righteous has made possible)

<sup>52</sup> See figures 2 and 3 for Monlau's illustrations of these ceremonies in contrast to the explicit illustrations of sexual organs in the 1851 German hygiene manual by W.S. Flatau *Higiene de la mujer: Un consejero y*



censored his language so as not to “alarmar el pudor de los lectores, ni alarmar en forma alguna los oídos de las personas más escrupulosas” (vii).<sup>53</sup> Finally, after consulting current legislation about print material and submitting his work to Isabeline ecclesiastic authorities, Monlau obtained the license and seal which legitimized this manual as having nothing “contra la religión, ni contra la sana moral (against religion or sound morality) (viii). As a consequence of Monlau’s self-censorship and discursive juggling, his adaptation of foreign expertise to the Spanish atmosphere and decorum, he became the first contemporary Spanish medical author studied in schools of medicine. He even displaced the works of foreign hygiene authorities such as Londe and Huffeland.

Colloquial language and popular knowledge embodied in Castilian popular refrains, rhymes and songs, were mixed with medical knowledge and terminology to adapt his works to Madrid’s standards. Refrains were not merely a mnemonic device to facilitate comprehension and memorization and to make his manual more picturesque and attractive. They were made to be symbols of a Spanish shared culture and common past, and must be related to Monlau’s work for the Isabeline central government. The presence of folklore in his manuals also reinforced Monlau’s authority as an expert, since he was able to display his erudition as an etymologist and language historian, disciplines in vogue at this moment thanks to romanticism. Monlau treated refrains nostalgically as “monuments,” “remnants of the past” but also “timeless,” examples of everlasting wisdom which could still teach valuable lessons in the present.

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*guía para las mujeres y las jovencitas. Traducido directamente de la cuarta edición alemana por el Dr. Manuel Avilés. Buenos Aires: Ed. Internacional, 1923.*

<sup>53</sup> (not to alarm the readers’ decency, or the ears of those most scrupulous)

Another interpretation for the use of refrains and popular knowledge would be their display as a *strategy of condescension*, an ability to appropriate popular language with which the expert demonstrated that he was fluent in every linguistic register. Monlau's purpose would be "deriving profit from denying the hierarchy of languages and people who speak them" (Bourdieu 68). In this way, as a medical expert, Monlau would augment his readership by gaining the trust and favor of his lay public.

Although Monlau was from Barcelona and he knew Catalan, as a representative of the state in Madrid he privileged Castilian. In *Elementos de higiene privada* (1875) he added an appendix dedicated to Castilian refrains on categories such as dress and cosmetics, old age, pregnancy, food and beverage. Hygiene perceived women as a key factor in the bright or decadent future of a nation. As a renowned French hygienist affirmed, "sus virtudes concurren al poderío de los imperios, su comportamiento acelera su decadencia" (*Las Treinta Bellezas de la Mujer* 19).<sup>54</sup> Hygiene linked decadence to the fast pace of modern life and the emphasis on the immediate satisfaction of individual desires, which were mostly associated with aristocratic women, envied by the rest of the female population. Frivolity and flirtation, shopping, fashion, parties, traveling, spectacles, even reading novels, were portrayed as women's Achilles' heel and a source for physical and moral illness for themselves, their offspring and society as a whole. Rita Felski, Elaine Showalter and Bram Dijkstra have argued that modernity and its rapid changes were associated with feminine instability and fluidity, women's "desiring subjectivity," very distant from the soothing ideal of the traditional, motherly woman (Felski 87).

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<sup>54</sup> (their virtues enhance the power of empires, their behavior speeds up their decadence)

In Monlau's *Elementos de higiene privada*, Castilian refrains served as a way to anchor shifting gender roles and to create a sense of a valuable "Spanish" wisdom passed on from generation to generation. Next to the refrains he liked the most, Monlau added a commentary between brackets explaining the meaning and agreeing with their message. Refrains on women's cleanliness, simplicity and naturalness intended to discourage the use of make up, frequently coming from France: "salud y alegría, belleza crían; atavío y afeite, cuesta caro y miente." About domestic work, Monlau selected "el pie en la cuna, las manos en la rueca, hila tu tela, y cría tu hijuela (no se pueden expresar en menos palabras los deberes de una buena madre de familia)" (676-677).

To warn the reader about the education of girls and the dangers of being easily influenciable, he used refrains such as "si mucho las pintas y las regalas, de buenas hijas harás malas (los padres deben dar buen ejemplo a sus hijos en acciones y palabras. La atención de los niños está siempre alerta, y retienen cuanto oyen, bueno o malo)" (684). Finally, about pregnancy, birth and breast-feeding, Monlau emphasized the idea of abnegation as something essential to be a good mother: "hijo sin dolor, madre sin amor," "la que rastrilla y da a hilar, como la que pare y da a criar (magnífica y exacta comparación)," "quien no sabe remendar, ni sabe parir, ni sabe criar," and "buena tela hila quien sus hijos cría" (682-3).<sup>55</sup> Woman's inner virtue was reflected by her simplicity in attire, humility in conduct and her hard-working nature.

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<sup>55</sup> ("Health and happiness grow beauty; adornment and make up, are expensive and a cheat;" "A foot on the cradle, hands in the spindle, weave your cloth, and raise your little daughter (the duties of a good mother cannot be explained in better or less words);" "If you adorn and spoil them, you will make bad daughters out of good ones (parents must set an example to their children in actions and words. Children's attention is always alert and they retain whatever they hear, good or bad);" "A child without pain, a mother without love;" "The woman who cards wool and makes someone else weave, is like the woman who gives birth and makes someone else breast-feed;" "A woman who breast-feeds her children weaves a good cloth.")

For Monlau, traditional marriage, motherhood and natural breast-feeding were the formula for a physically and morally healthy woman, family and nation. Catholic imagery in the shape of the *Mater Dolorosa*, linked to Virgin Mary's ultimate sacrifices and endurance for her son, was applied to Spanish wives. In order to be good mothers, they not only had to place the well-being of their children before their personal wishes, but had to suffer physically. Such was the case of the discomforts of natural breast-feeding:

*las madres deben criar a sus hijos. No basta haber sufrido las molestias del embarazo y los dolores del parto, sino que es necesario arrostrar los trabajos de la lactancia: Mater in conceptu gravida, in partu dolorosa, in lactando laboriosa [...] ¡Ánimo, pues, y cumpla cada consorte con su misión conyugal!*  
(501)<sup>56</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century, in the eyes of Spanish hygienists preserving beauty was the most abhorred excuse not to breast-feed naturally, for it eliminated any trace of humility and submission in the bourgeois woman. To shame the woman who did not breast-feed, Monlau dramatically called her “mother without entrails,” “half mother,” “stepmother” a “cocotte” (using a French term to refer to frivolity), a “tíota” (a mannish woman).

In *Elementos de higiene privada*, Monlau praised Castilian refrains a legitimate source of knowledge in matters of gender roles. However, in *Higiene del matrimonio* he sarcastically discarded those refrains which criticized the negative effects of breast-

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<sup>56</sup> (*mothers must breast-feed their children*. Suffering the discomfort of pregnancy and the pain of delivery is not enough, but it is also necessary to face the toil of lactation: *Mater in conceptu gravida, in partu dolorosa, in lactando laboriosa* [...]) So have courage and let each spouse fulfill its conjugal duties!)

feeding and maternity on the female body as being circulated by frivolous or callous mothers, not the good doctrine of “nuestro pueblo.”

Las esposas que lean este capítulo [sobre la lactancia] no deben creer mucho en aquello que *el criar arruga y el parir alucia*, porque este refrán castellano debió ser puesto en circulación por alguna coqueta, o alguna madre sin entrañas; y además carece de exactitud. La mujer que, pudiendo, no cría a su hijo, se convierte en madrastra, ni llega a ser *media madre*, y renuncia a su más excelso título [...]. La filosofía vulgar de nuestro pueblo tiene consignada enérgicamente, en sentenciosos refranes, la buena doctrina. *Madre que no amamanta, ni se muere, ni atraganta*; es decir, la madre que no cría a sus hijos es una mujer sin sentimientos, que para nada se afecta, y capaz de prescindir de todo. –En el alto Aragón, es refrán muy sabido el de *Madre que no pare y no popa* (que no da de mamar y acaricia) *no es madre, sino tiota*, esto es, madre a medias (*Higiene del matrimonio* 501-2)<sup>57</sup>

Hygiene enforced an organicist portrayal of society as a body. Therefore, bad mothers, for example those who did not breast-feed, equaled diseased cells, a cancer to the social body. To avoid this danger, *Higiene del matrimonio* also provided pre-marital advice to give couples the best start possible. Partners needed to choose each other

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<sup>57</sup> (Those wives who read this chapter [about breast-feeding] must not believe in that refrain that says *breast-feeding gives you wrinkles and giving birth makes you gleam*, because this Castilian refrain probably was circulated by a cocotte, or some mother without entrails; besides, it is not true. A woman who is able to breast-feed her child and doesn't become a stepmother, not even *half a mother*, and renounces to her greatest title [...]. Our people's vulgar philosophy has strongly recorded the good doctrine in sententious refrains. *A mother who does not breast-feed does not die or choke*; that is, the woman who does not nurse her children is a woman without feelings, who does not care about anything, capable of doing without anything. – In the highlands of Aragón, it is well known that *A mother who does not breast-feed and does not caress her child is not a mother, but a mannish woman*, that is, half a mother)

wisely, like a good melon. First of all, the spouses had to be compatible physically and in character. Secondly, after having selected the adequate partner, the role of each spouse had to be clearly demarcated for marriage to work smoothly.<sup>58</sup> Biblical references were used to emphasize women's dependency on men for, as God himself said, "*Sub viri potestate eris*" and, according to Saint Paul, "*Caput est mulieris vir*" (*Higiene del matrimonio* 83).<sup>59</sup> Monlau lamented the effects of an unruly wife in the household, comparing her to a hen which wants to crow as roosters do. As the proverb went "triste es la casa donde la gallina canta, y el gallo canta" or "una mujer cuando se irrita muda de sexo" (*Higiene del matrimonio* 80-3).<sup>60</sup>

We find a curious contrast twenty pages later, when a neutral register replaces Monlau's popular flavor in order to describe the anatomy of female and male genitals. The penis and the vagina and their parts were differentiated carefully, enumerated and described in size, shape, texture, location and function together with sexual functions such as menstruation, ejaculation and orgasm in normal or pathological cases (*Higiene del matrimonio* 106-108). In the case of the vagina, it was described as a

canal vulvo-uterino, es un conducto vásculo-membranoso, de cuatro a cinco  
pulgadas de largo, de cosa de una pulgada de calibre, y de forma cilindroidea,

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<sup>58</sup> Spanish laws at this time clearly favored the male spouse in marriage. The husband's immoral behavior was always excusable. Women, on the contrary, were conveniently considered "spiritual" and feeling-oriented beings who subverted the natural order if they expressed sexual desire or dissatisfaction, as in the case of adultery. Nineteenth century Spanish laws were much stricter on the wife, and her beating and killing were socially excused under those circumstances. Sexual crimes against women such as rape were also excused if it was proved that the victim was not a virgin (Scanlon 133-4). Echoing the legal discrimination of women, Monlau affirmed that promiscuous wives irremediably made aberrant mothers, while a bad husband could be a good father (*Higiene del matrimonio* 82).

<sup>59</sup> (You are under man's power; man is woman's head)

<sup>60</sup> ("Sad is the home where the hen crows, and the rooster also crows," "when a woman gets angry she changes sexes")

que sirve para alojar el miembro viril en el acto de la cópula. (*Higiene del matrimonio* 103).<sup>61</sup>

Monlau's switch to a neutral scientific register, his self-censorship in these difficult passages for Isabeline conservative standards, avoided any danger of being branded a sensualist.

Monlau's medical views on women's body and roles also reflected an Isabeline ideal of femininity: an angelic woman radically different from men, frail, humble, very sensitive and devoted to home and family. To convey this ideal, Monlau used ancient Hippocratic and Galen's medicine to support radical sex dimorphism of the male and female, valid medical sources in the Spanish academia of his time. The main aspect which differentiated the sexes, according to hygienists and Greek medicine, was women's ties to the cycles of nature (menstruation for example) and their reproductive function.<sup>62</sup> The ancient metaphor of the uterus as a living animal which tyrannized women was Monlau's favorite:

La matriz es el órgano más importante en la vida de la mujer; es uno de los polos de la organización femenina. [...] En la matriz retumban indefectiblemente todas las afecciones físicas y morales de la mujer: el útero hace que la mujer sea lo que es: *uterus est animal vivens in muliere*, decían los

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<sup>61</sup> (vulvae-uterine channel, a vascular-membranous channel, four to five inches long, an inch wide, and with cylindrical shape, that lodges the virile member in the act of copulation)

<sup>62</sup> See King, Helen. *Hippocrates' woman. Reading the female body in ancient Greece*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

antiguos; *Propter solum uterum mulier est id quod est.* (*Higiene del matrimonio* 103)<sup>63</sup>

Monlau argued that women's reproductive functions made them unfit for the professions and, using a pun, laughed at what he considered the grotesque idea of women in Parliament debating the "interesting state," a euphemism employed by Spanish hygienists to refer to pregnancy. Consequently, his conclusion about female worth in society, apart from that of wife and mother, was that that in the most civilized societies there was a proportion of 1/17 more men than women, being men the sex "más completamente organizado, el más fuerte, el más elevado en sus facultades" (*Higiene del matrimonio* 114).<sup>64</sup>

Although Monlau harshly ridiculed "modern" women, he also employed the poetic praise of femininity to flatter women who followed tradition. Women were described romantically as a "work of God," but, echoing Hippocratic and Galen's medicine once more, were presented as physically and mentally inferior. In this way women's subordination to men was legitimated by the medical experts. On the one hand man was

ardiente, altivo, robusto, velludo, osado, pródigo y dominador. Su carácter es ordinariamente expansivo, bullidor; su textura es fibrosa, recia, compacta; sus músculos son fornidos, angulosos; sus fuertes crines; su barba negra y poblada, y su pecho velludo, exhalan el fuego que le abrasa; su genio sublime e

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<sup>63</sup> (The uterus is the most important organ in women's lives; it is one of the poles of the female body [...]) All moral and physical diseases are echoed in the uterus; it makes women what they are: *Uterus est animal vivens in muliere*, the ancients said; *propter solum uterum mulier est id quod est*)

<sup>64</sup> (the most completely organized, the strongest, the most elevated in his abilities)



impetuoso le lanza a los altos y le aspira a la inmortalidad. (*Higiene del matrimonio* 114)<sup>65</sup>

Monlau's early neutrality when describing sexual organs was here obliterated by his passion for etymology and medieval literature. The accumulation of powerful adjectives such "strong," "ardent," "proud" to qualify men resembles the description of medieval *chanson de geste*'s bearded hero "Cid Campeador," a representative of Christianity against Moorish invaders in Spain. In extreme opposition to the qualities of the male and the fire and strength which make him aspire to the sublime, echoing Hippocrates and Plato,

La textura general de todas las partes del cuerpo [de la mujer] es más floja y más blanda. La mujer está dotada de una sensibilidad mayor; sus sentidos son más delicados y finos. Predominan en la mujer las facultades afectivas, así como en el hombre las intelectuales [...] Por eso las mujeres no han creado religión alguna, ni compuesto ningún poema épico, ni hecho grandes descubrimientos. Su destino es fundar las delicias y el amor de la familia. El amor es la pasión dominante en la mujer, así como la ambición es la dominante del hombre. (*Higiene del matrimonio* 115)<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> ([He is] all heat, expansion and strength and he is destined to give life and movement to new beings [...]). Man is ardent, proud, robust, hairy, daring, generous and dominant. His character is normally expansive, bustling; his body texture is fibrous, sturdy, compact [...] his strong hair, black and dense beard and his hairy chest exhale the fire burning in him; his genius impulses him to the top and makes him aspire to immortality)

<sup>66</sup> (The texture of woman's body is softer and weaker. She is endowed with a greater sensibility; her senses are finer and more delicate. Affection predominates in women, intellect in men. That is why women have never founded a religion, composed and epic poem, or made great discoveries. Their destiny is to found family love and delight. Love is the dominant passion in women, ambition in men)

Despite their physical inferiority, women were portrayed by Monlau as superior in feeling, thriving with love, “founders of the sweetness of family,” which made the domestic sphere the most adequate to their nature. After both praising and ridiculing women, presenting them as superior but inferior, physically weak but morally strong, a divine work of God but ignorant and worthless intellectually, natural or denaturalized mothers, Monlau concluded with the poetic exclamation “¡Dejad, pues a ese ángel fuera de la vida pública!” (*Higiene del matrimonio* 16).<sup>67</sup>

Not only hygienist doctors such as Monlau but many women as well contributed to create and support this image of the angel of the home, the epitome of bourgeois motherly love and full dedication to the family. This was the case of María Pilar Sinués de Marco (1835-1893) and the rest of Isabeline “escritoras virtuosas” or “narradoras de la domesticidad” as Alda Blanco calls them.<sup>68</sup> In contrast to modern “dissolute” women, frequently associated with aristocratic foreign customs, the traditional model of the angel represented the preservation of national values against the foreign excess of fashion, cosmetics and leisure. This dichotomy was also a way to foster conformity and neutralize “inappropriate social ambitions” such as ascending the social scale (Charnon-Deutsch 53-4). These ambitions and what a woman could supposedly do to fulfill them could bring economic, physical and moral ruin to the family and nation through monetary and sexual expense. Some examples of the consequences of modern excess illustrated in novels were prostitution, adultery, falling into debt and pawning.

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<sup>67</sup> (Leave that angel out of public life!)

<sup>68</sup>See Blanco, Alda. *Escritoras virtuosas. Narradoras de la domesticidad en la España isabelina*. Granada: Universidad de Granada. Caja General de Ahorros de Granada, 2001.

To eliminate any trace of glamour from a “dissolute” modern life, in virtuous, serialized novels dissolute women always succumbed. On the contrary, angelic ones were triumphant Christian heroines whose strength and conviction always led them to success against

rocambolescas adversidades, malas y ociosas mujeres, seductores desalmados y madres siniestras, establecen su forma de ser como el ideal femenino, pintan la vida doméstica como lo naturalmente suyo y, finalmente, promueven el hogar como el espacio más apropiado para la mujer. (Blanco, *Escritoras virtuosas* 13)<sup>69</sup>

The reader of these novels expected this outcome. Curiosity of how the heroine would win her battle against evil was the incentive to keep attentive to the story and its morals since, from the very beginning, the key to interpret these novels was obvious. There would be a happy ending for the female protagonist as long as she conformed to a Christian and motherly code of conduct. In the prologue to Sinués de Marco’s *El ángel del hogar. Estudios morales acerca de la mujer* (1859), the author affirmed that

Yo os haré ver que la mujer buena es siempre dichosa, que la Providencia no la desampara nunca, y que si le niega toda la felicidad aparente, por sus inescrutables designios, le deja en cambio el más estimable de todos los bienes; el que jamás se acaba; el que nada, ni nadie, puede arrebatarse: LA PAZ DE CONCIENCIA. (Sinués de Marco 9)<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> (triumph over incredible misfortunes, evil and idle women, heartless seducers and sinister mothers, they establish their personality and the feminine ideal, depict domestic life as naturally theirs and, finally, promote the home as the most appropriate space for women)

<sup>70</sup> (I will show you how a good woman is always happy, how Providence never forsakes her and that, if she is apparently denied happiness due to Providence’s inscrutable will, she is endowed with the most

As Todorov affirms with regards to popular literature, its masterpieces are precisely “the book which best fits its genre [...]. They are one and the same thing; the best novel will be the one about which there is nothing to say” (138). Nevertheless, *El ángel*, like Monlau’s hygiene manuals, was more complex than it may seem due to its underlying tensions. It was a hybrid in which religious tradition and medical discourses were mixed. It echoed hygiene advice circulating at the time and, as a book prescribing a code of conduct, it was a manual and also a collection of entertaining novellas full of plot twists, although with a similar triumphant outcome for the angelic woman. Furthermore, Sinués de Marco’s position as a female author was at odds with the code of conduct she prescribed for her female audience.

In mid nineteenth century Spain it was literary romanticism which made it possible for many women such as Sinués de Marco to enter the public sphere with their writings. Romanticism finally arrived in Spain in the 1830s and 1840s, later than other European countries, due to the blockade to foreign influence during Fernando VII’s absolutist monarchy.<sup>71</sup> Romantics such as Mariano José de Larra were mostly liberals exiled by Fernando VII, and they encouraged foreign influence and investment. Above all, they denounced Spain’s state of backwardness and championed the need to modernize the country physically and ideologically. Nevertheless, they were a minority. According to Derek Flitter, the conservative branch of romanticism was based on the criticism of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment by German philosopher Friedrich Schlegel.

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worthy of all gifts; a gift which never ends; which nobody or nothing can take away from her: PEACE OF MIND)

<sup>71</sup> See Kirkpatrick, Susan. *Las románticas. Women writers and subjectivity in Spain, 1835-1850*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1989.

This branch ideologically used *casticismo* or the praise of Catholicism, Spanish customs and traditions to fight revolutionary ideals:

The traditionalist response to the Enlightenment ideal of progress and reform is a discourse that might aptly be described as Manichaeian. The recurring antagonisms are manifold yet coherent, and centred on identifiable polarities of outlook and intimate being: spiritual and material; faith and reason; religious and profane; divine reliance and human self-sufficiency; in short, traditional Good and revolutionary evil. On the side of Good are ranged order and authority, throne and altar [...] the ennobling qualities of faith and the personal self-discipline of Christian morality; hostile to these are the opposing forces of popular radicalism, material ambition and self-interest, science and reason: in a word, secularism. (Flitter 102)

In *costumbrista novels*, for example, conservative romantics such as Ramón de Mesonero Romanos and Fernán Caballero focused on didacticism, Christian values, Spanish tradition, history and folklore, in order to find Spain's essence in contrast to other countries. The domestic or virtuous novel, which intended to perpetuate traditional Spanish motherhood is yet another example, although contradictory. Like in Monlau's case, the virtuous writers' moderate position, in accordance with Isabeline standards, allowed them to write. The praise of Spanish piety by conservative romanticism, its emphasis on feeling versus the godlessness and coldness of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment, a "crucible of horror and devastation" and "moral aberration" (Flitter 95), provided female writers with the excuse to publish. Ironically, hygienist doctors such as Monlau unconsciously supported this claim for, as he romantically affirmed, "la mujer

está dotada de una sensibilidad mayor; sus sentidos son más delicados y finos” (*Higiene del matrimonio* 115).<sup>72</sup>

Both genres tried to make a clear-cut distinction between man and woman, the bourgeoisie and the rest of classes, the Spanish and the foreign, but both were in reality hybrids of the old and the modern. In mid nineteenth century Spain, sentimental literature was distributed widely and cheaply thanks to modern printing techniques coming from abroad. Such was the case of the *serialized novel* (novels in installments as booklets) or *folletines* (sentimental novels as newspaper columns, a French import). As a consequence of the purchase in installments, the lower classes were able to access this type of literature, mostly based on thrilling romance and adventure to attract as many readers as possible and increase the sales (Blanco, *Escritoras virtuosas* 48). Similarly, the manual also provided quick and easy access to medical advice through a set of instructions, what represented the democratization of medical knowledge. It transformed inaccessible, abstract knowledge and medical theories into ready-to-use practical information.

For Alicia Andreu, mass literature and other types of foreign imports were the consequence of Spain’s underdevelopment in relation to other European countries, which favored Spain’s cultural and economic colonization (41). Some examples were literary and social gatherings or salones, newspapers on fashion, the use of French cosmetics and clothing, French and English cooking recipes, etc. Nevertheless, the middle class did not accept this “colonization” without reservations. This taste for foreign imports was related to the high classes. The customs of aristocratic women were used by hygienists as the example of physical and moral excess to avoid: they followed fashion in clothing and

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<sup>72</sup> (woman is endowed with a greater sensibility; her senses are finer and more delicate)

cosmetics, noxious to the body and pocket, such as high heels, corsets, vertiginous necklines, fabrics and materials which enhanced heat and perspiration like silk or fur. They stayed up late, smoked, drank, danced and were considered sexually promiscuous. These negative qualities were embodied by dress, the external element which “marketed” female sex appeal. Since France was the closest and more important producer of fashion imports, this country became a main target to Spanish hygienists. Behind this was the fact that, since the French Revolution and the 1808 Spanish War of Independence, for Spanish conservatives France had become a symbol of radical change endangering Spanish religious and cultural identity.

Hygienists and virtuous writers juggled with the pros and cons of foreign influence against tradition: imports were an opportunity to attain economic and cultural power and class distinction through the imitation of foreign customs, not accessible to the lower classes. On the other hand, the middle class had to portray its habits as superior to those of the aristocracy, main consumers of such imports, through the idea of hygienic moderation. Consequently, foreign imports for the bourgeois family were acceptable as long as they did not imply excessive monetary expense, or fostered promiscuity, which would both endanger the bourgeois family economic and moral superiority.

For bourgeois conservatives, the problem with more accessible imports such as the *folletín* and the *serialized novel*, being available to bourgeois women and the lower classes, was that it broke gender and class barriers: they encouraged social equality and female romantic and sexual excess. Some examples of the most condemned novels were the widely successful *Les mystères de Paris* (1842-3) by Eugène Sue and *María o la hija*

*de un jornalero* (1845) by Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco (Sánchez Llama 25, 327), considered “pernicious” by the standards of Isabeline conservatives (Andreu 41, 43).

Hygienists such as Monlau blamed sexual precocity in youngsters on “las conversaciones libres o siquiera ambiguas, y palabras obscenas; la curiosidad; *la lectura de novelas*; la vista de estampas o pinturas lascivas; los espectáculos livianos [...] (*Higiene del matrimonio*, 523, emphasis mine).<sup>73</sup> The physical and moral consequences were weakness, melancholy, nervousness, shame, chills, consumption, aneurisms, palpitations, convulsions, epilepsy, paralysis, numbness of all senses and the intellect and, finally, death (*Higiene del matrimonio* 524-5). Considering that the dominance of the bourgeoisie was based, according to Foucault, not only on economic but also genetic capital (producing healthy, strong offspring) hygienists took on a fight against what they considered immoral literature with the excuse of preserving women’s health and morals and those of their offspring. Queen Isabel II’s confessor Father Claret advised women to shun novels for their intellect was weaker and they would be unable to distinguish between fiction and reality, implying a danger of mimicking too easily what they read (Blanco, *Escritoras virtuosas* 57).<sup>74</sup> Women, depicted as the main consumers of this type of literature, were again used by male ideologists as the balancing element in the juggling exercise between encouraging foreign economic and cultural investment, and preserving Catholic morality and tradition.

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<sup>73</sup> (free or even ambiguous conversations and obscene words; curiosity; *reading novels*, seeing lascivious pictures or paintings; lewd spectacles)

<sup>74</sup> Father Claret’s Catholic manual *Instrucción que debe tener la mujer para desempeñar bien la misión que el Todopoderoso le ha confiado* (1862) sold over four million copies according to Alda Blanco.



As a countermeasure to the influence of *folletines*, women were provided with healthy and didactic substitutes such as the domestic novel and the conduct and hygiene manual. Ironically, the “escritoras virtuosas” avidly took this chance to participate in the public sphere in the only “decent” way allowed: guiding other women into domestic roles. According to Robyn Warhol

There are historical reasons why women and men in the mid-nineteenth century would use the discourse of realist fiction to differing ends. Whereas men had ample opportunity to exert serious didactic influence over others, women had few forums in which they could publicly “say something;” the realist novel provided one of the few socially acceptable and effectual outlets for their reforming impulses. (*Gendered interventions* 18)

For nineteenth century women, public speaking, exposing oneself before the eyes of an audience (except in the case of speaking for an entirely female audience) meant taking the risk of being considered either too assertive and, therefore, too masculine, or promiscuous. Forums such as the domestic novel, which was addressed at other females, safeguarded the female author and the reader’s femininity: having “a good cry” with these novels reinforced the stereotype of women as being more sensitive, and domesticity was prescribed as the desirable model for women. The female author’s reputation was also protected, for her body was not exposed to the public eye (Warhol, *Gendered interventions* 159-161; *Having a good cry* 29).

Although domestic writers prescribed passive, domestic roles to their readers, they made women the protagonists and heroines in their stories. These heroines usually appealed to the motherly figure of Virgin Mary instead of God or Jesus Christ in

moments of anguish, creating a “sisterhood” among women and mothers. Men were frequently villains who did not understand women’s nature, and usually it was men who took fatal decisions on childcare and childrearing based on rationality and practicality, ignoring the mother’s beneficial natural instincts, maybe a hint to male health “experts.” Finally, “virtuous writers” also celebrated the birth of baby girls, advising parents to consider women a blessing, not a curse. The tensions and ambiguities in Sinués de Marco’s works “incluyen el deseo femenino, la necesidad de compatibilidad en el matrimonio, los beneficios de la compañía femenina y la fuerza e independencia que las mujeres obtienen entre sí” (Urruela 159).<sup>75</sup> Willingly or unwillingly, these writers became the foremothers of later writers and the ferment of future feminist demands in Spain.

María Pilar Sinués de Marco was the most prolific and eclectic of domestic writers: she wrote legends in prose and verse, conduct manuals, newspaper articles, tales, biography, serialized novels, and did translations. Like Monlau, following the Isabeline canon favored the fact that some of her works, such as her collection of moral stories *La ley de Dios*, were recommended by the authorities to be used as textbooks in primary schools (Sánchez Llama 326, 22). However, with the 1868 *Gloriosa Revolution* Sinués de Marco abandoned domestic virtuous topics. After singing the praise of marriage and domesticity during the Isabeline period in order to get published, she supported female education and talent openly, condemned social rejection against the “fallen woman,” supported the revolution against Queen Isabel, and took on literary experimentation in realism and even naturalism, which covered topics considered too explicit for a “decent”

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<sup>75</sup> (include female desire, the necessity to be compatible in marriage, the benefits of female companionship and the independence women obtain among themselves)

lady. This was the case in novels such as *Una hija del siglo* (1876), *Una herencia trágica* (1882) and *Morir sola* (1890), in which she dealt with prostitution, genetic taints, rape, passion crimes and single motherhood. Her collection of essays and biographies providing examples of female heroines and female talent *Galería de mujeres célebres* (1878, 9) is also an example of this shift in perspective (Sánchez Llama 366-8). She was independent economically, did not have children, separated from her husband in 1870, and was the first well-known Spanish female writer who lived of her works (Urruela 155,158). After her virtuous career, this ideological shift made her undesirable for traditionalists in the first years of the twentieth century, and she was eliminated from the literary canon with the excuse of the low quality of her works (Sánchez Llama 327, 370).

The ferment of Sinués de Marco's later subversive attitude was already present in her virtuous stage in the 1850s, for as a writer she was trespassing man's territory although this was mitigated by the domestic topics she covered. For the purpose of legitimizing and authorizing her writings, Sinués de Marco agreed with medical ideas circulating at this time which conformed to a traditional view of motherhood. Such was the case of the propriety and healthiness of breast-feeding your own children, or the necessity of selecting a good husband.

Style was essential to "sell" the ideal of a virtuous life to her readers. According to Sinués de Marco herself in the prologue to *El ángel*, this collection was a hybrid of a manual, novel and newspaper article, for she recycled previous articles on women which she published in the newspaper *La moda* (1857) in Cádiz. She mixed an essay format (explicitly defending an argument) with fictional stories disguised as "real cases" to set examples of a female virtuous or corrupted life. We have seen how the choice of the

sentimental novel and its content opened the possibility for women to express their concerns in public, and exert an influence on a much wider audience than family without tainting their femininity or reputation. The choice of format was also essential for this purpose. Sentimental writers like Sinués de Marco employed what Robyn Warhol calls *direct* or *earnest interventions*, addressing the reader with the “you” form to create a sense of reality and obtain “readers to act upon the novels’ suggestions” (Warhol xii):

direct address evolved as an alternative to public speaking “in person,” which was forbidden to respectable females. Realist novels provided opportunities for women to speak through their narrators to “you,” in a serious, nonliterary way seldom practiced by male Victorian novelists. Those earnest interventions, those direct appeals to “you,” took on a feminine gender or the middle of the nineteenth century. As women narrators used them to intervene in their fictional texts, women novelists used them to intervene in history. (Warhol vii)

As in the case of the hygiene manual, the “illusion” of reality was achieved by means of a constant presence of the narrator in guiding the reader through the stories, as if Sinués herself had witnessed the events and known the characters: *¿Queréis saber ahora cómo aprendí a rezar? [...] Mi padre me enseñaba oraciones adecuadas a todas las situaciones;* *¿Queréis, lectoras, amadas...? “Inútil será que yo trate de describir los transportes de Rafaela: las madres los comprenderán sin que yo los explique. Las que no lo sean, no los podrían comprender jamás; “Como habrán podido ya conocer mis lectores...”* are some examples.<sup>76</sup> This continuous presence and the use of adjectives such as “loving” to refer

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<sup>76</sup> (“Do you want to know now how I learned to pray? [...] My father taught me prayers for any situation;” “Would you like, loving readers...?” “It is useless that I try to describe Rafaela’s emotions: mothers will

to Sinués de Marco's readers transformed *El ángel* from essay-like estudios into a more intimate narrative or "los consejos amorosos de una amiga" (6), a confidence to the reader.<sup>77</sup> By praising virtue and domesticity Sinués also provided the female reader with "un bien" (an asset) and "consuelo" (relief) for future afflictions through the peace of mind achieved by a virtuous life (9). In this way, her texts became more handy, practical and intimate than a mere essay argumentation.<sup>78</sup>

The mixture of "reality" and fiction became a didactic strategy based on the maxim of *utile et dulci*, and the fiction of the angel was disguised as a "real," "natural" and "beautiful truth." *El ángel* constructed a feminine ideal which was desirable according to Isabeline standards: a traditional, virtuous, domestic woman isolated from the public sphere and modern change. In this manner, the hygiene manual became a "domestic" and literary fiction with a touch of poetic sentimentality, while the domestic novel became a manual prescribing a healthy, moderate and hygienic life for women. In Isabeline Spain both were forms of power which "demanded constant, attentive, and curious presences for its exercise; it presupposed proximities; it proceeded through examination and insistent observation" (Foucault, *History of sexuality* 44). Both "invaded" the home of bourgeois families to prescribe the same world order in a similar fashion.

Monlau used the decoy of his medical expertise and his overwhelming discursive and linguistic competence, while Sinués de Marco's authority seemingly was based on female

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understand without any explanation. Those who are not mothers will never be able to understand;" "As my readers may already know..."

<sup>77</sup> (The loving advice of a friend)

<sup>78</sup> Since mid nineteenth century, these interventions of the narrator were associated with didacticism and female writing. As a consequence, in later literary canons they were considered as low quality, non artistic a bad or cheap resource to create a sentimental response on the reader. While in "serious" male works these devices were supposed to be a form of irony, the fact that female writers used it for real devalued their works in the eyes of male literary experts (Warhol vii, xiii).

tenderness and simplicity. As a woman, the author supposedly shared these attributes with the female reader. In her prologue to *El angel*, she used the typical strategy of *captatio benevolentia* to depict herself as an unworthy writer, and apologized for the simplicity of her text “en razón a la débil comprensión de la mujer” (6).<sup>79</sup> Thus, the Isabeline writer based her own authority in her personal experience as a woman to guide other women, on fostering a bond, a sisterhood between author and reader. In contrast to hygiene manuals and the male expert, the writer and the reader appeared to be at the same level. Through understanding the reader’s female nature, Sinués de Marco’s style implied collaboration, not aggression or imposition on the reader by the author:

No os impondré la virtud con preceptos rígidos o descarnados: os ofreceré a la vista los riesgos que trae el no practicarla, y los bienes que nos proporciona su ejercicio. *Os la presentaré tal cual es, hermosa y llena de encantos y atractivos*: los que la pintan uraña [sic], rodeada de rigorismo y de la intolerancia y acompañada de martirios sin cuento y de penosos sacrificios, éstos la despojan de sus *preciosos, naturales y sencillos atavíos*: éstos la desconocen y la confunden con el error y la superstición. Yo os la enseñaré para que no os asuste, sino para que la améis como una amiga, y ella vivirá entre vosotras y os hará felices. (8, emphasis mine)<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> (due to women’s weaker intellect)

<sup>80</sup> (I will not impose virtue on you with rigid or unadorned precepts: I will show you the risks of not practicing it [a virtuous life], and the assets of doing it. I will present it as it is, beautiful and full of charm and appeal: those who depict it as harsh, surrounded by rigor and intolerance, unnecessary torments and distressing sacrifices, those people strip [such life] of its beautiful, natural and simple garments: those people don’t know it and mistake it for error and superstition. I will show virtue to you so that you are not scared by it, so that you love it as a friend, and it will live among you and will make you happy)

By using exemplary stories with which the female reader could identify, Sinués clothed the “preceptos descarnados” of a virtuous domestic life, making them acceptable and desirable.<sup>81</sup> These strategies were both a way of conveying the message of the book through empathy but, more importantly, of promoting women to write without the fear of being censored or criticized by providing a method to do so.

When referring to those who presented virtue and domesticity as a harsh sacrifice, Sinués de Marco may have in mind the hygienist “man of reason,” who supposedly prescribed the same course of life in the unadorned, cold, “objective” way of science. Despite this seeming difference, neither was Sinués’ relation to the inexperienced young female reader one of equality, nor did doctors like Monlau present his work in a “naked,” objective way. Sinués de Marco authorized herself as a woman who has witnessed the blessings of a virtuous life, although her stories were fictitious, to guide young girls of age to marry. Both Monlau and Sinués de Marco strove for the same objective: making their writings and the ideals they conveyed as convincing as possible, as attractive as possible, and ensuring their own status as writers and guides.

In spite of Sinués de Marco self-proclaimed simplicity, her command of the language was as extensive, and her style as intentionally baroque: she accumulated a great variety of adjectives, and frequently used juxtaposition and enumeration to add dramatic tension to each scene. As it was typical in romanticism, she employed detailed, vivid descriptions of the characters’ surroundings to suggest their state of mind. Careful physical descriptions abounded to emphasize the natural beauty of the virtuous woman which symbolized her inner beauty as well. One of the protagonists is said to be thirty two years

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<sup>81</sup> Metaphorically “to strip the flesh from something,” meaning harsh, unadorned.

old but still preserving the “tersura de nácar de su frente, el fresco sonrosado de sus labios, y la viveza de sus hermosos ojos” (70, Volume II).<sup>82</sup>

Exclamation and personification were also commonplace in *El ángel*. Sinués de Marco’s paragraphs amalgamated metaphors, symbols and epithets and, above all, she used religious imagery profusely. Besides the obvious use of the metaphor of woman as angel, the heroines in *El ángel* were equated to Virgin Mary, saints or martyrs of evil men and women who ridiculed their morals and values, thus rendering them superior. The Christian rhetoric of renunciation and sacrifice was used to instill in women a sense of duty which resembled that of Mary, and to emphasize that likes and desires had to be put aside. Their reward would be the happiness and prosperity of others. One of these sacrifices expected from the angel-mother was to put aside her physical vanity in favor of her children through breast-feeding her offspring personally.

The mystic quality which surrounded the female breast and breast-feeding in nineteenth century Spain, as a symbol both of life and female humility, dated back to medieval depictions of lactating Virgin Mary. Like an angel, Mary was an ethereal figure devoid of physically to allow for the privilege of being the mother of God. She conceived without intercourse, and gave birth without labor or pain, thus demonstrating that she was not a common woman tied to Eve’s punishment after the Fall. However, to symbolize the humanity of Christ as well, she was allowed the biological function of suckling (Warner 192). In this manner, in the Christian cult the Virgin’s milk became a symbol of life and

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<sup>82</sup> (the mother-of-pearl smoothness of her forehead, the rosy freshness of her lips, the liveliness of her beautiful eyes)



salvation through her son Jesus Christ, but also a symbol of her sacrifice, lowliness and dedication as a woman and the Savior's mother (Warner 201, 2).

In the Renaissance there was a shift from natural breast-feeding to the use of wet nurses in order to demarcate status, to differentiate a lady from a peasant. Hence, the use of wet nurses by aristocratic mothers was not only socially acceptable but a must (Warner 203). However, in the eighteenth century with the Enlightenment there was a comeback of the emphasis on natural breast-feeding and the imagery of salvation through the mother's milk. In Europe, depopulation due to the threat of epidemics and massive emigration to the cities caused the breast to be selected by the Enlightened as a symbol of national regeneration and physical and moral health. With the support of scientific studies such as those by Carolus Linnaeus,<sup>83</sup> the female breast was both represented mystically and hygienically as a return to natural well-being, the bond or "cement" between mother and child, family and civil society, for "the infant was imagined to imbibe with the mother's milk her noble character, her love and virtue" (Schiebinger 70). When this idea was popularized, virtue or degeneration began to be thought to pass from mother to offspring and to the whole of society.

Since the use of wet nurses was associated to the aristocracy since the Middle Ages and due to the strong ties between suckling and Catholicism, natural breast-feeding became a very popular topic in nineteenth century Spanish bourgeois circles. The mystical and religious ties of the mother's milk and the gift of life to Virgin Mary were behind the image of the angel of the home and the lactating mother. In this way, the

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<sup>83</sup> Naturalist Linnaeus in *System naturae* coined the term "mammal" as a zoological category. According to Londa Schiebinger his decision of choosing the female breast as a feature to categorize species was due to the fact that woman's capacity to breast-feed was historically perceived as a sign of naturalness and animality (*Nature's body* 59, 74).

women who breast-fed their own children were considered good mothers, while the ones who put their beauty or comfort before this obligation were considered selfish and foreign. The concept of “foreignness” in relation to breast-feeding referred both to the breakage of the natural bond between mother and child, and the fact that breast-feeding was considered a mundane activity associated with non-Catholic countries.

Both in hygiene manuals and virtuous novels milk was thought not only to transmit nourishment, but also the mother’s moral qualities. As a consequence, it was considered an aberration to leave a child in the care of a wet nurse of dubious morals and health. This “crime” was even worse if the mother was trying to avoid breast-feeding her child because of “selfish” reasons such as having more time to entertain herself or preserving the beauty of her breasts, a middle class woman trying to imitate the customs of the aristocracy, fashion or *el buen tono*. Sinués de Marco in *El ángel* exclaimed that breast-feeding, as a maternal duty, enhanced the mother’s beauty instead of taking it away:

¡Madres jóvenes y hermosas! ¡Ya os escucho declamar contra mí y calificar de inhumano sacrificio, de martirio insoportable lo que os exijo! ¡Pero si supierais cuánto ganaríais en belleza, si os adornáis de la solicitud maternal...! ¡Cuánto más interesantes pareceríais a vuestros esposos dando el pecho a vuestros hijos! ¡Cómo conquistaríais su corazón, y cuán opimos frutos recogeríais de tan santo y hermoso sacrificio! (16)<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> (Young and beautiful mothers! I am hearing you declaim against me and consider what I am demanding of you as an inhumane sacrifice, as an unbearable martyrdom! But if you were aware of how beautiful maternal care would make you...! How interesting you would be for your husbands if you breast fed your children! You would conquer their hearts, and you would harvest such abundant fruits of such a beautiful and holy sacrifice!)

To discourage the practice of hiring wet nurses, hygienists and domestic writers alike depicted these women as a health and moral threat which tried to infiltrate the middle class. Their warnings also transpired a nationalist message against periphery areas in Spain, some adamant to conform to the rule of the central government in Madrid.

According to Carmen Sarasúa, in the case of Madrid wet nurses frequently were immigrants to the city from close rural areas or surrounding provinces such as Cuenca, Guadalajara or Toledo, or from distant regions of Spain such as the Basque Country, Cantabria and Asturias. Initially they belonged mainly to the peasantry, although in mid nineteenth century an agricultural crisis caused a shift to hire proletariat wet nurses from urban, poor neighborhoods (*Criados, nodrizas y amos* 148, 151). In late eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century wet nursing was perceived as a healthy practice, for children were sent to the countryside around Madrid for two or three years to be raised by a peasant wet nurse in her farm. A natural environment was thought to be beneficial for the child (*Criados, nodrizas y amos* 148). This fashion for a natural early upbringing, influenced by French naturalism and Rousseau's *Émile*, also fostered regional specialization. Besides women from the countryside in the outskirts of Madrid, wet nurses from the Basque Country and Cantabria were esteemed for their health and strength and, for some patrons, for their desirable lesser mixture of "non-Christian blood" (*Criados, nodrizas y amos* 158). However, the shift to urban wet nursing and an increase of cost of wet nurses who worked in the child's own home, a practice which became a sign of high status, encouraged doctors to denounce the health and moral-related problems of the poorer female workers nursing in their "unhygienic" quarters.

Unfortunately, this bad reputation extended to the whole of wet nurses (*Criados, nodrizas y amos* 151).

Doctors used different strategies to encourage natural breast-feeding: vivid portrayals of the coarseness, immorality, superstitious nature and lack of education of these workers; descriptions of their diseases, criticizing their neglecting the needs of the children they nursed, denouncing the injuries or deformities caused to children when bundling them too tightly (*Criados, nodrizas y amos* 165, 6). These doctors linked hiring a wet nurse to the mother's frivolity and unnatural coldness. Ironically, they did not blame the poor physical education of middle and high class women or the effects of the corset on the female breasts, which many times made them unsuitable for nursing. The popular belief that intercourse activated menstruation and contaminated the milk also caused many husbands to encourage women to hire wet nurses in order to avoid abstinence (*Criados, nodrizas y amos* 191, 2).

Echoing the shift in the perception of wet nursing my mid nineteenth century, and the medical establishment's discourse in favor of natural breast-feeding, Sinués de Marco depicted wet nurses as "less civilized" and "mujeres mercenarias y groseras." She affirms wet nurses only cared for money, stole the "treasures" of the child's first smile and first words to his parents, and "niegan a vuestro hijo el alimento cuando lo apetece, y obliga al pobre niño a que se nutra con el oro de su padre, en vez de alimentarse con la sabia del seno materno" (15).<sup>85</sup> In this way, Sinués de Marco contrasted the naturalness of breast-feeding through the word "sap," against the coldness and uselessness of money for the child's survival.

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<sup>85</sup> (they deny your child food when he wants it, and force him to be nourished with his father's gold instead of the sap of the mother's breast)

To convey the urgency of avoiding wet nurses Sinués de Marco also employed the medical idea of contagion to refer to moral degeneration through tainted mother's milk. In one of her exemplary stories Magdalena, the daughter of a stingy old man from the middle class who only cared about his male first born, could escape this miserable situation thanks to her marriage to a good man and her maternity (45). While Magdalena was lactating, "se privó de toda clase de diversiones, no obstante la envidiable posición que su esposo ocupaba en la capital de provincia donde vivían" (60).<sup>86</sup> The reward for Magdalena's Christian abnegation, in a similar way to biblical Mary Magdalene after she converted to Christianity, was absolute happiness and a clear conscience: "Una lágrima de felicidad humedecía las luengas pestañas de la joven madre [...] Nada más simpático que ver la dulce y simpática figura de Magdalena, colocada como un ángel de paz junto a la cuna de su hija" (51-2).<sup>87</sup> As a result, the child, symbolically named "Ángela," was sweet and good natured like her mother. However, due to complications in her second pregnancy, Magdalena could not breast-feed Rosa, her second child. By all means she wanted to do so but her husband hired a wet nurse "grosera y egoísta, que tanto abundan en su clase" (65), who broke the bond between mother and child for two months. In spite of Magdalena trying to reestablish this bond, it was too late, the harm was already done. The wet nurse's evil nature, like an infection, had been transmitted to the child whose eyes had "una chispa de malicia y travesura, que hacía un contraste con el angélico

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<sup>86</sup> (she deprived herself of any type of entertainment, despite her husband's enviable position in the capital city of the province where they lived)

<sup>87</sup> (a tear of happiness dampened the young mother's long lashes [...] There was nothing more agreeable than watching the sweet and friendly figure of Magdalena like an angel of peace next to her daughter's cradle)

candor que se retrataba en el rostro de su hermana” (67).<sup>88</sup> Only Madgalena’s good example and absolute dedication saved the girl from future ruin. Rosa also became an exemplary wife and mother (128).

Rafaela’s story in “Amor británico” was even more shocking and dramatic. It was related to hygiene’s obsession with supervising the choice of a suitable partner for marriage, besides presenting wet nursing as a foreign custom which had to be avoided in Spain. Rafaela was an abnegated angel because she married English banker Mr. Ricardo W. to help his father economically. From the very first moment there was tension in the marriage because of Rafaela and Mr. W’s incompatibility, Rafaela’s Catholic faith and sentimental temperament, contrasted with British cold and money-driven culture. Rafaela was a typical Catholic wife, ignorant of any matters apart from domestic ones (329), which made her unsuitable as a wife for Mr.W, who was looking for an English-like housekeeper. To refute the English disdain for Spanish womanhood, when comparing the education of women in Spain and other countries Sinués de Marco affirmed that Spanish women were “more women” because:

En Francia y en Inglaterra se educa a la mujer para los negocios y para el comercio. En España, la que se educa lo es para la casa [...] En Francia y en Inglaterra la mujer es erudita o excelente tenedora de libros. En España es sólo buena esposa y buena madre. Allí tiene algo de varonil. Aquí es enteramente mujer. Allí tal vez podrá ella misma manejar y hacer producir sus caudales. Aquí necesita el apoyo constante del hombre. (329)<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> (a spark of malice and mischief which contrasted with the candor portrayed on her sister’s face)

<sup>89</sup> (In France and England women are educated for business and commerce. In Spain, she is educated for the home [...] In France and England women are learned or excellent accountants. In Spain she is only a

Despite her husband's rejection and mistreatment, Rafaela conceived a child, a girl who became Rafaela's only hope of happiness in her marriage. Unfortunately, she was forced by her husband not to breast-feed the girl and to give her to a wet nurse, which here becomes a symbol of the denaturalization of English culture in contrast to Rafaela's maternal instincts. This call of nature is reflected in her dramatic scream full of "wild energy" calling for her baby girl, "the fruit of her entrails:"

Volvíose, y vio la sombría figura de su esposo, y delante de él a una mujer gruesa y de brutal aspecto, que pugnaba por quitarle la niña que estrechaba contra su corazón [...]. Rafaela se incorporó en el lecho, pálida y con el cabello esparcido -¡mi hija!... ¡yo quiero mi hija!... gritó con la energía salvaje de una madre a quien roban el fruto de sus entrañas. (345)<sup>90</sup>

The father's plan was to call the girl Alicia instead of María, the Catholic name chosen by Rafaela, a passionate devout of the Virgin. Instead, the girl would become a strong, sentimentality-devoid business-driven English woman. To enhance the reader's dislike of this English villain and commiseration for Rafaela, Mr.W's statements are hyperbolic, full of violence and cruelty. For example, he would rather have his new born child die than resembling Rafaela (346). Rafaela's alienation in England was conveyed with the hygiene notion of "bad air," or polluted atmosphere which affected the individual negatively. This reference to the English atmosphere also echoes Hippocrates and Galen's studies on the four "humors" and the influence of climate on personality. In this

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good mother and wife. There is is somewhat manly. Here she is entirely a woman. There she may be able to manage and produce her money. Her she need man's constant support)

<sup>90</sup> (She turned around and saw her husband's somber figure, and in front of him a fat, brutal-looking woman, who fought to steal the girl who she held against her heart. [...] Rafaela sat up in bed, pale and with her hair loose- my daughter!.. I want my daughter!... she yelled with the wild energy of a mother robbed of the fruit of her entrails)

case the author alluded to British coldness in accordance to the climate, and England's industries, whose fumes reached Rafaela's room. She was equated metaphorically to a plant which withered in "la frialdad y el vapor mefítico de aquella insalubre atmósfera" (332).<sup>91</sup>

The only hope in Rafaela's miserable marriage, which was taking a physical and mental toll on her through depression, was the old doctor who helped her during her pregnancy. Old and devout Dr. Simpson was the one who liberated Rafaela from the "caverna de lobos" of her marriage by taking her to his castle in the countryside with his angelic wife and daughter. He also made possible the reunion between mother and child to reestablish their broken natural bond with the excuse of reestablishing Rafaela's health. In contrast to the grayness, coldness, pollution and Godlessness of England, Dr. Simpson emphasized the great difference in climate and mores which were putting Rafaela in the brink of death:

Rafaela se muere; nacida bajo un cielo radiante e iluminado por un sol siempre hermoso y vivificador; su corazón se hiela bajo nuestras nieblas; su cabeza dolorida está destrozada; su estómago debilitado, y casi perdido el apetito, causa natural de su absoluta falta de ejercicio. (11 Volume II)<sup>92</sup>

Manuals such as *Higiene del matrimonio* discouraged this type of "cross-cultural" union. In this way, the old doctor was depicted in religious terms as a savior, a doctor of the body and a doctor of the soul, an "apóstol de la santa ciencia de aliviar a la humanidad,

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<sup>91</sup> (the coldness and poisonous vapors of that unhealthy atmosphere)

<sup>92</sup> (Rafaela is dying; being born under a radiant sky illuminated by an always beautiful and life-giving sun; her heart is freezing under our fog; her hurting head is wrecked; her stomach is debilitated, and her appetite is almost lost, a natural consequence of her lack of exercise)



un don del cielo” (353).<sup>93</sup> His hygienic advice and “paternales cuidados” brought Rafaela back to life (349). Her choice of an unequal marriage in values, status and nationality, turned her not into an angel, but into a farther link in the chain of sacrifice: a martyr of denaturalized and cruel English mores. Through juxtaposition of statements Rafaela was depicted romantically as

Una pobre joven que gemía en medio de una ciudad de oro que muchas veces  
había visto en sus sueños, cuando dormía bajo el techo de su anciano padre.

Una mártir que había inmolidado su corazón en aras del deber. Un ángel, sobre  
cuya alma dejaba Dios algunas veces la mirada de sus ojos, llenándola de luz.

Una bienaventurada que lloraba sobre la tierra, y que imploraba a la madre de  
Dios, como a la estrella de eterno consuelo, como a la suprema consoladora de  
todos los males. (335)<sup>94</sup>

In this story, Virgin Mary and the doctor became Rafaela’s only consolation in London, the modern, artificial and money-driven “city of gold” in which Rafaela withered. In the modern city there was no place for the natural bond between mother and child, denaturalization which led to physical and moral disease. The only salvation was a middle way or balancing of the best of modern medicine in understanding disease, and the best of natural living; the best of science but also of religion. The result was hygiene, and it was the hygienic advice of the old doctor, who took Rafaela to the countryside to do a sun, fresh air, exercise and rest cure, what saved her.

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<sup>93</sup> (An apostle of the holy science of healing humanity, a gift from Heaven)

<sup>94</sup> (A poor young woman who moaned in the middle of a city of gold which she had seen many times in her dreams, when she slept under his old father’s roof. A martyr who had immolated herself in the altar of duty. An angel on whose soul God sometimes rested his gaze, filling it with light. A blessed woman who cried on earth, and who begged to the mother of God, the star of eternal consolation, as the supreme comforter of all evil)

To illustrate the need for this balance between the modern and the old, Spanish bourgeois hygienists and domestic writers revitalized and popularized the symbolic ties between breast-feeding, nature and religion, remnants of the past in a rapidly changing era. The breast-feeding angel of the home became a powerful fiction, a talisman against the physical, economic and moral insecurities inherent to the capitalist system and modernization. As long as Spanish womanhood was preserved, the citizens' ties to nature were safeguarded and prosperity, happiness, health and peace of mind guaranteed. To further reassure the reader, Rafaela's ordeal in "Amor británico" ended with one conventional *folletín* twist. Her devotion to her values, her maternal instincts and her self-inflicted martyrdom were rewarded by a happy discovery. Having lost a father, Dr. Simpson will happen to be her real father as revealed in a letter concealed by cruel Mr. W.

Despite their references to tradition, we have seen how hygiene manuals and domestic novels were a contradiction in themselves, and how their authors shared a split identity embodied in their eclecticism and discursive fissures. Although striving for separating themselves as male, scientific works in contrast to humble, female sentimental ones, hygiene manuals and domestic novels had many things in common. They were handy and comprehensible sources of information which epitomized the urgency of modern life and the democratization of knowledge. They also shared similar historical circumstances which forcibly made them adapt and negotiate their style and content. That was the case with the Isabeline moderate canon after Fernando VII's extremism. In this way, hygiene manuals and domestic novels became hybrids of the modern and the old,

the foreign and the national, and they implied liberation and enslavement for the female reader.

Liberation from old taboos in relation to cleansing practices, from the noxious atmosphere, dampen walls and dusty, dark rooms of traditional houses; from oppressive fashion elements such as the corset, high heels and poisonous make up. Enslavement because hygiene ties with morality and propriety were strong, resembling Catholic tradition. Enslavement, in short, because the price of health and beauty was self-restriction and discipline and, in the case of women, motherhood and dependency from a husband, a father, a doctor.

Similarly, domestic novels championed and prescribed a Christian life for women while providing them with a site of resistance through the act of writing, and creating a sisterly network of support among women against men's injustice and lack of sympathy. These writers wove together the traditional female network of support with regards to child bearing and child rearing which hygienists such as Monlau, in order to sell their "science," conveniently considered "superstitious," "rancid," and "an obstacle to progress." In a curious manner, male hygienists and domestic writers supported and worked against each other. Hygienists mixed the image of the angel with scientific "facts" to prescribe domestic roles and passivity in women on the one hand. Virtuous writers used hygiene and the praise of the doctor to authorize their active roles as novelists, on the other.

This startling ambivalence was reflected by *discursive hybridity* and style. Literary romanticism and sentimentality was clearly behind Monlau and Sinués de Marco's profusion of literary tropes, exclamation and dramatic tone, which was fashionable at this

moment. Didacticism also allowed for popular knowledge and well-known religious imagery to be present in their works, which widened the selling market for these authors, helped them obtain state permission to publish, gained them the blessing of the Catholic Church, and even a license to sell their works as textbooks. For Phillips and Jorgensen “discourse both *constitutes* the social world and is *constituted* by other social practices [...] It does not just contribute to the shaping and reshaping of social structures but also reflects them” (Jorgensen 61). Thanks to discursive juggling and metaphorical *code-switching*, in the 1850s and 1860s male hygienists contributed to the shaping of the Spanish nation in its early stages of modernization. Women were supposed to surrender their individuality and desires in the process. Instead, domestic writers appropriated the discourse of hygiene and embraced the angel ideal to create a path for their peers and future female writers to participate actively in the public sphere.

## Chapter 2

¿Sabéis lo que es el hogar?  
Es donde la casta esposa  
con acento cariñoso,  
perfuma a su amado esposo  
cual puro ambiente de rosa.  
(Indalecio Martínez Alcubilla,  
*El diamante de las niñas*,  
1882, 58)<sup>95</sup>

### Hygiene manuals and the “romance” of health: idealism, radical naturalism and the Spanish doctor

In this chapter, I contrast the discourse of hygiene in manuals for women such as Dr. Francisco de Paula Campá's *Calendario de la preñez e Higiene de la mujer en cinta* (1874) with the novel by radical naturalist Alejandro Sawa *Crimen legal* (1886). I analyze the tools used by novelists such as Sawa to shatter literary and philosophical idealism, embodied by the figure of the angel of the home. This was achieved mainly by saturating novels with medical jargon and medical theories, and raw descriptions of social problems such as prostitution, disease and poverty. The Spanish medical establishment was portrayed as biased, weakened and corrupted by religion and morality, while the new style of narrating was praised as objective, scientific and very male. In this way, the bourgeois hygiene manual and its style became representatives of Spain's corruption and cultural mediocrity. I study the stylistic strategies used by Sawa to discredit bourgeois romantic rhetoric as feminine, weak and noxious, a blindfold to the crudities of life.

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<sup>95</sup> All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.  
(Do you know what home is? It is the place where chaste wives/ with their loving voice/ perfume their beloved husbands/ like the scent of a rose)

Une langue est une logique. On écrit bien, lorsqu'on exprime une idée ou une sensation par le mot juste. Tout le reste n'est que pompons et falbalas. Avoir l'impression forte de ce dont on parle, et rendre cette impression avec la plus grande intensité et la plus grande simplicité, c'est l'art d'écrire tout entier [...] Seulement, il faut en outre la rencontre exacte de l'expression. Plus elle sera directe, sans ragoût littéraire, allant droit à la vie, et plus elle sera puissante et éternellement jeune, dans la vibration même de la vérité! [...] Seulement, dans ce style si capricieusement ouvragé, si chargé d'ornements de toutes sortes, je voudrais porter la hache, ouvrir des clairières, arriver à une clarté plus large [...] Tout ce régal est un peu enfantin. Ce sont des friandises d'art qui, au point de vie humain, ne tirent pas à conséquence. Certes, c'est exquis, c'est compliqué, ça laissera de jolis bibelots dans notre littérature; mais j'aimerais mieux que ça laissât des œuvres fortes. (Zola, *Les romanciers naturalistes* 1881, 375-7)<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> (Language is logic. One writes well when an idea or sensation is expressed through the right word. Having a strong impression of what it is being talked about and expressing this impression with the utmost intensity and simplicity, that is the art of writing entirely and completely. The rest are crests and endearments [...]. The more direct an expression is, going straight to life, without literary condiments, the more powerful and eternally young it will be, wavering with life! [...]. I would like to use an ax to open a gap and bring light into this overworked style, so loaded with adornments of all sorts [...]. All this exuberance is childish, artistic candy which does not yield any result in the human sense. The truth is, it is exquisite, complicated, literature will inherit its pretty trifles, but it would be better to leave behind works of strength).

A Spanish translation of this lengthy excerpt from Émile Zola's 1881 *Les romanciers naturalistes* was included in an appendix to *La pálida* (1885), a Spanish radical naturalist novel by Eduardo López Bago. López Bago intended to defend himself against the accusations of immorality and pornography after the publication of his best known novel *La prostituta. Novela médico-social* (1884), the first of his tetralogy on the "fallen woman:" *La Pálida* (1885), *La Buscona* (1885) y *La Querida* (1886). The other well known representative of this Spanish movement was López Bago's pupil Alejandro Sawa. His most famous naturalist works are *La mujer de todo el mundo* (1885), *Crimen legal* (1886), *La sima de Igúzquiza* (1888), *Criadero de curas* (1888), *Noche* (1888) and *Declaración de un vencido* (1889).

During the second half of the nineteenth century, French naturalist Émile Zola became the most popular exponent of a heated debate about literary authority or what it meant to be a quality, modern writer; a debate which revealed a deep preoccupation with language and the literary depiction of reality. In *Les romanciers naturalistes* (1881), Zola voiced this preoccupation in gendered terms, which suggests that this issue not only had literary implications but exposed a growing cultural anxiety about the blurring of traditional gender boundaries.

From the eighteenth century onwards, in Europe the concept of *genre* created strict boundaries between literary styles by ordering literary works as if they were a system of “normative rules with universal validity, rather than as *ad hoc*, changing, and inherently fuzzy practices” (Frow 52). Genre as a *family* was one of the metaphors used at the time which illustrates this effort. By the end of the nineteenth century, this metaphor came to life as literary genres began to have a close social correspondence with the modern capitalist separation of the public and private spheres, and the subsequent distribution of gender roles within the real world. Literary genres were gendered, and the language they employed to narrate was associated either with patriarchal maleness, strength, reason and progressiveness; or with motherly idealism, sentimentality and tradition.

Radical naturalist Eduardo López Bago (1853-1931) and his pupil Alejandro Sawa (1862-1909) played a crucial part in the late nineteenth century Spanish debate on genre-gender distinction, for radical naturalism in Spain positioned itself on the end of the scale of bold virility. They distanced themselves from feminine, sentimental literature and deceptive bourgeois ideals such as the ethereal “angel of the home,” ridiculed by these

authors as noxious for society and an obstacle to Spain's progress. Similarly, Zola scorned romantic literature through analogies with the adornments of fashion, cooking, cooing, love for candy and "knick knacks:" romantic "childish luxury," "pompons," "crests," "frills and flounces," "literary condiments and adornments," and "endearments," which also represented women's "dangerous" tendencies to self-indulgence.<sup>97</sup> In this way, women's "frivolity" and materialism were contrasted against the male intellectual and literary solidity of naturalism.

The figure of the hygienist doctor, a mixture of male scientist and quasi sentimental writer who used clichés constantly to refer to women and their mission, was not held in great esteem within realist and naturalist circles. As an example, the discursive ambivalence embodied by prescriptive and didactic literature such as the hygiene manual made of hygienists "académicos hueros" in Leopoldo "Alas" Clarín's words.<sup>98</sup> In contrast to Spain's academic and scientific mediocrity, radical naturalists presented themselves as bold, manly fighters against idealism. They endorsed solid, scientific knowledge by

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<sup>97</sup> The metaphor of literary infancy regarding "low quality" feminine writers kept up with contemporary anthropological theories on the intellectual infancy of "savage peoples" and "inferior races," which also were associated with women for their strong ties to nature and the fact that many of these societies were matrilineal. See Havelock Ellis *Man and woman: A study of human secondary sex characters* 1894.

Romantic writers such as Carolina Coronado and Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda and virtuous writers like Maria Pilar Sinués de Marco and Fernán Caballero, who were greatly successful during the Isabeline period, were outshined by the new literary trends and frequently called "mojigatas" (hypocritically sanctimonious) by male realist writers such as Benito Pérez Galdós or Clarín (Jagoe 52).

<sup>98</sup> Realist novelist Leopoldo Alas Clarín wrote the prologue to Emilia Pardo Bazán's *La cuestión palpitante* and defended naturalism by using the concept of "fantasy" and stylistic affectation to point at Spain's lack of literary and mental strength, and the need to reform literature in accordance with exterior social, economic and technological changes. He called Pardo Bazán "un sabio" (a wise man) and acidly accused the Spanish public opinion and "fake" academics of being utterly ignorant, of not even reading that which they condemned. In a similar way to Zola, Clarín used childishness, the metaphor of "children's play" or "old men's dodder" to refer to Spain's academic weakness and intellectual senility (Clarín 128). Although Clarín's stance against academic mediocrity and for literary change is clear here, however, we will see how his stance about Pardo Bazán and female novelists in general is ambiguous.



defending a clear-cut distinction in content and style between the “objectivity” of science and the subjectivity embodied by morality and didacticism.

The disastrous physical consequences of the Isabeline angel ideal were the backbone of Alejandro Sawa’s novel *Crimen legal* (1886), where the author crudely attacked this hybrid incarnation of bourgeois beauty, virtue and morality.<sup>99</sup> In the novel, this ideal is clearly unattainable for the female protagonist. Sawa makes her the victim of this model to question its most valued feature: its Catholic, sacrificial aspect. An examination of Sawa’s views on biological pregnancy and childbirth underscores the rupture of the previous Isabeline support link between the novel and the hygiene manual. The analysis of polemical topics, but especially a raw style, were the “weapons” used by radical naturalists to distinguish themselves from what they considered bourgeois “idealist” literature or “literatura bonita,” associated with sentimentality and femininity: the virtuous novels, the farfetched folletines, and the hybrid hygiene manual, which reproduced many of their clichés regarding women’s bodies and roles. Using radical naturalist words, for social healing to occur, the radical naturalist novel had to carry out a truly hygienic mission by substituting these genres with socially useful novels, sincere enough to open and air society’s sores in order to cure them.

Sawa’s discourse in *Crimen legal* was, however, not free from contradictions and hybridity itself, which made his works problematic within the radical naturalist endeavor. The movement’s most important figure, Eduardo López Bago, considered him not a true

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<sup>99</sup> Sawa’s most important novels are *La mujer de todo el mundo* (1885), *Declaración de un vencido* (1887), *Noche* (1888), *La sima de Igúzquiza* (1888), *Criadero de curas* (1888) and the autobiographical novel *Iluminaciones en la sombra* (1910).

naturalist but, in reality, “un romántico de tomo y lomo” (Fernández 47).<sup>100</sup> Eventually, Sawa abandoned naturalism, went through a purely idealist stage, and was mythically identified by friends and enemies as a “bohémio incorregible.” For some he was a dreamer and idealist in search for pure art, beauty and the infinite, as modernist Rubén Darío called it, “el azul;” for others, Sawa was only a “melenudo” who had wasted his strength and health away leading a dissolute life in the Parisian Quartier Latin in the 1890s. These discrepancies not only give testimony to the obsessive debate on literary authority in the last decades of the century, but also of the impossibility and artificiality of the project of genre and gender distinction.

Literary genres such as the realist and naturalist novel served as an arena, not only to express personal opinions on literary authority and the literary canon, but also to “air” other polemical and troublesome contemporary topics related to modern life such as politics and centralization, religion, sexuality, consumerism, industrialization, backwardness in rural areas, the effects of foreign influence and gender (Labanyi vii, 4-5). The novel functioned as a “repository of cultural memories” for the exploration of personal and national roots, for the development of self-image, individual or collective attitudes (Van Gorp, Musarra-Schroeder ii). In the case of Spanish realism, in contrast to the first half of the century, the monolithic idealization of family and home as sanctuaries of “peace and happiness distinct from the working world” (Jagoe 19) was scrutinized and became ambiguous together with their caretakers, the “angels of the home.” These “ambiguous angels,” to use Catherine Jagoe’s term, apparently fulfilled their domestic duties but, at the same time, endangered their family with their unleashed consumerist

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<sup>100</sup> (an out-and-out romantic)

desires, closely related to sexuality. Women's economic agency, thanks to the shift to a credit economy, was depicted as shattering the peacefulness of the domestic temple (Jagoe 90). The strict bourgeois boundaries between private and public spheres and traditional gender roles which hygiene manuals fostered were portrayed as blurring in the new literary canon.

In contrast to the ambiguousness of realism, reflecting of the interest and preoccupation with this blurring, naturalism participated in the genre-gender debate by defending a clear-cut distinction between these categories, and by "purifying" its style of any superfluous literary adornment. Naturalism embodied Enlightened empiricism, the return after romanticism to a "period of purification" in which the objects of study were "stripped of all commentary, of all enveloping language" and their descriptions "neutralized" and "faithful" (Foucault, *The order of things* 30, 31, 129).<sup>101</sup> Controversial naturalist themes which gave authors a halo of boldness, and the emphasis on the concreteness and objectivity of scientific discourse had a clear connection with daring virility in contrast to female subjectivity.

This suggests a desire to find answers to the "woman's question" in the last decades of the century, or what should be women's place, rights, and duties in modern society in contrast to men. This was accentuated by feminist demands, economic opportunities for women, and the opening up of the literary world to female competition during the romantic period. As a response to these threats, naturalists such as Zola criticized romanticism as an exaggerated reaction to the mass "deformation" of literary style in

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<sup>101</sup> Foucault focuses on eighteenth century biology and botany to emphasize the shift from personal or communal experience as a way of knowledge to scientific representation, in which an object of study (a plant, an animal, a mineral) were isolated, classified and stripped of any mythology or popular accounts on them as it was typical in previous compendiums.

newspapers. He compared the romantics with jewelers who carefully chiseled and added “gemstones” and beautiful adornments to their writing, in this way relating romantic literature to feminine fashion and bodily adornment, and discrediting this exuberant style as obsolete for modern literary standards. On the other hand, *folletin* and article writers were also scorned by Zola, who accused their style of being quite the opposite, “incolore” and “incorrecto.” He pejoratively affirmed that those “jornaleros de la prensa” were endowed with a “fecundidad espantosa,” therefore, linking them negatively to the working class and to women (qtd. in López Bago, *La pálida* 258).<sup>102</sup>

Realists and especially naturalists responded to the “cheap” artifice and “low quality” of newspaper *folletines*, and the pompousness of romantic works, by presenting themselves as objective, progressive authors, well imbued with the “espíritu del siglo,” a positivist world view based on empiricism and scientific and technological advance. They used theories from newly created disciplines such as anthropology, psychology, sexology and eugenics to support this male-oriented literary system. As Laqueur affirms, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, science and discourse were used to “derive culture from the body.” As a consequence, sex organs were shaped to fit cultural expectations and traditional gender roles in order to widen the differentiation between the sexes to an extreme (*Making sex* 151-2).<sup>103</sup> Similarly, the resemblance between *family*, *species* and

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<sup>102</sup>(day laborers of the press; frightening fertility)

The original passage in Zola’s *Les romanciers naturalistes* is the following:

Il semble que la fécondité effroyable des faiseurs de feuilletons et des faiseurs d’articles, que ces charretées de phrases incolores et incorrectes vidées chaque matin sur la tête du public par les tombereaux de la presse, aient poussé les esprits lettrés à une réaction violente. Ils se sont mis à l’écart, ils sont devenus des bijoutiers littéraires, ils ont d’autant plus ciselé leur style que les romanciers feuilletonnistes et les journalistes lâchaient davantage le leur. (Zola, *Les romanciers naturalistes* 371)

<sup>103</sup> In the case of sex and gender, Laqueur affirms that before the eighteenth century fluidity and hybridity were possible. For example, in ancient Greece temperature was said to be able to change the sex of an

genre taxonomies made frequent the metaphorical use of Darwinian evolution for the genre-gender distinction, also as a way of using science to legitimize the new literary trends. Even writers who were openly against evolutionary theories, such as Spanish novelist Emilia Pardo Bazán, used the idea of evolution to refer to the changes in literary styles at this moment:

La evolución (no me satisface la palabra, pero no tengo a mano otra mejor) que se verifica en la literatura actual y va dejando atrás al clasicismo y al romanticismo, transforma todos los géneros. La poesía se modifica y admite la realidad vulgar como elemento de la belleza [...] la historia se apoya cada vez más en la ciencia y en el conocimiento analítico de las sociedades. La crítica dejó de ser magisterio y pontificado, convirtiéndose en estudio y observación incesante. (*La cuestión palpitante* 173)<sup>104</sup>

In contrast to Pardo Bazán's neutral use of genre evolution, there was a tendency of male authors to relate this fact to gender. Within the "family" of literary genres, in the same manner than within the human family, some progressed, were up to date with new scientific trends, and were considered a sign of the times, the maximum exponent of literary evolution and of literary maleness. Others such as romantic pieces, virtuous

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individual, and for centuries the vagina and ovaries were considered an inner inverted penis, what made women a lesser form of a man.

<sup>104</sup>(The evolution (I am not pleased with this term, but I do not find any better at hand) which is taking place in current literature and leaves behind classicism and romanticism, is transforming all genres. Poetry is being modified and admits everyday reality as an element of beauty [...] history increasingly relies on science and the analytical knowledge of society. Criticism stopped being didactic and moral, turning to incessant study and observation)

Ironically it was precisely Pardo Bazán, a woman, who fired the naturalist polemic in Spain. In *La cuestión palpitante*, a volume of articles published from 1882 until 1883 in the newspaper *La Época*, she clarified and critiqued the tenets of the naturalist movement in order to discredit the myths which led to its bad reputation in Spain, where it was considered by many as immoral and pornographic. Being a woman, Pardo Bazán received harsh criticism since she dealt intelligently with a topic considered by many not culturally appropriate for Spain, much less for decent women.

literature and *folletines* were depicted as a previous stage of literary evolution, an infantile stage. For Zola their outdated sentimentality, colorful language, and lack of intellectual strength made them “exquisite” but useless. A male, logical, “scientific” style, in contrast, had to be simple and narrate facts as they were. Language had to avoid any sweetening, that is, adding superficial and excessive details which deviated the literary work from its truthfulness. Subjectivity had to be substituted by neutral language, following Claude Bernard’s methods for experimental medicine. Medical-pathological discourse, together with colloquial language belonging to all the strata of society, gave a predominant role to the ugly aspects of everyday life. Using a very male metaphor of the modern author as a lumberjack, Zola and naturalists wanted to “to use an ax to open a gap and bring light” in the exuberant foliage of affected language to achieve a linguistic neutrality which would resemble the objectivity of science, medicine in particular.

Furthermore, according to Mary Lee Bretz, this “coded use of masculine for praise and feminine for condemnation” was also linked to male anxieties on female sexuality. In Pardo Bazán’s case, her dealing with topics considered pornographic and not suitable for a decent woman, unless tainted, led to a scandal which

reveals the latent hostility of the male critic to the women writer. She can only succeed by adopting literary attributes viewed as inherently male, but as soon as she does, her female identity is called into question, as is her virtue and the political correctness of her position. (*Voices, silences and echoes* 73)

In this way, in the prologue to *La cuestión palpitante*, Clarín’s seeming praise of Pardo Bazán’s courage in discussing naturalism by using the masculinizing term “sabio,” truly embodies the fear of male conservatives and liberals of female emancipation and

competition. This masculinization stripped the female author of her female virtues such as delicate beauty, modesty and humility, therefore underscoring the possibility of women's sexual liberation, and the fear of the repercussions of this behavior in the family and society.

By the end of the nineteenth century, literary authority in Spain amounted to the elimination of female features in order to substitute them for male ones: figurative language, dramatic clichés and farfetched twists by direct language and credible storylines; void romantic jargon by the universal “to the point” solidity of scientific language and terminology. The epitome of male expertise in naturalist novels was the figure of the doctor who, like an anatomist, dissected and “exposed” social ailments without judging them, with the help of the scalpel of medical discourse. Finally, objectivity required the dilution of the narrator to let actions and characters unfold with the least mediation possible: “l’auteur n’est pas un moraliste, mais un anatomiste que se contente de dire ce qu’il trouve dans le cadavre humain. Les lecteurs concluront, s’ils le veulent, chercheront la vraie moralité, tâcheront de tirer une leçon du livre” (Zola, *Les romanciers naturalistes* 129).<sup>105</sup>

In the case of Spain, many critics argue that naturalism per se, following Zola's tenets fully, did not exist but was adapted to the country's cultural and religious circumstances as a lighter or hybrid “spiritualist naturalism.” This milder form of naturalism did not

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<sup>105</sup> (the author is not a moralist, but an anatomist who is content with pointing at what he finds in the human corpse. Readers are the ones to deduce and look for the true moral of the story, while trying to extract a lesson from the book if they want to)

The idea of medical neutrality, following Zola's tenets, was frequently used by radical naturalist authors as a defense mechanism following accusations of immorality and pornography of their novels. In the case of López Bago's *La prostituta*, social alarm spread by newspapers caused its temporary immobilization in bookstores until a judiciary process exculpated López Bago from these accusations. The judges eventually considered the novel to be a denunciation of prostitution and the spread of syphilis.

advocate determinism or negate Catholic dogmas like free will; it was less pessimistic, and gave room to the characters' spiritual analysis (Correa 11, 62-3). Bretz links the palliation or open rejection of naturalism in Spain to the failure of the 1868 *Gloriosa Revolution* and the First Spanish Republic, and the political and social tensions in their aftermath: the creation of cantons on the Mediterranean coast, which brought to the forefront the threat of workers' movements, anarchism and feminism. The fear of violent revolution "silenced" political opposition and soothed extremist positions in newspapers and fiction:

In the early years of the Restoration, progressives and liberals who had advocated change and welcomed or at least accepted the Revolution of 1868 find themselves excoriated by the right and reduced to silence by their own guilt and fear of exacerbating the social conflict that had surfaced during the Republic and, in particular, during the cantonist revolt. Throughout the 1870s and well into the 1880s, liberal and more radical writers seek to disassociate themselves from violence and revolution. Explicit references to the political events are rare and often surface as afterthoughts or asides within texts that purposely emphasize non-political issues. (*Voices, silences and echoes* 59)

The fear of revolt made objectivity, the extreme distancing of the author and his personal views, an troublesome element in late nineteenth century Spain. The radicalism of the cold, dry and crude naturalist style created great discomfort, which prevented the movement to take roots in its "pure" version (*Voices, silences and echoes* 80).

As a response to this lukewarm approach, novelists such as Eduardo López Bago and his pupil Alejandro Sawa tried to push Spanish naturalism to the French extreme, even



further. The explicitness with which delicate topics such as prostitution, crime, or sexually transmitted diseases were presented in their works caused them to be labeled pornographic and immoral by the authorities and the public opinion, but it was precisely scandal which contributed to their great success.<sup>106</sup> Sawa labeled the Spanish “true” naturalist movement as “radical naturalism” or “naturalismo de barricada” (Fernández 5), implying a fight against Spain’s backwardness and its political, social and cultural stagnation, embodied by bourgeois and Catholic values. Furthermore, the discrediting of didacticism and sentimentalism as literary tools and the renewed emphasis on literary objectivity brought moralist or “hybrid works” (a mixture of fiction and didacticism) to the foreground of the literary debate.

In contrast to the widespread lack of scientific rigor, the idea of the radical naturalist as a dissident fighter gave the movement a male halo in contrast to bourgeois idealist and conformist literature, which radical naturalism considered physically and morally noxious to society, especially for women. For contemporary critic Luis Albareda, the radical naturalist novel

abre los ojos [...] ha venido a derribar ídolos falsos, que los necios y los egoistas presentan colocados en altos pedestales [...] No os intimiden las crudezas del lenguaje, que son el limo del río desbordado; terrorífico en un principio, fuente de prosperidad como término. Que la verdad, como la belleza, sólo es una; y aquel que anda a caza de rodeos, y a pesca de palabras bonitas con que disfrazar los actos

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<sup>106</sup> According to López Bago, interestingly it was not the content but the style which preoccupied Spanish editors. In Spain the topic of prostitution had been dealt with in the past in romantic French and Spanish novels and *folletines*. López Bago’s work was condemned because he did not yield to the editorial pressure of writing with a romantic style such as Alejandro Dumas’ in *La dama de las camelias*, in which the female fallen protagonist was redeemed because of love. According to the author “todos deseaban que las repugnancias se hicieran agradables a la vista [...] sólo así se pone a salvo la moral” (everybody wanted to make repulsive elements pleasing to the eye, it was the only way to safeguard morality) (*La pálida* 253).

humanos, si lo hace con buena intención, se engaña a sí mismo, y os engaña. (*La prostituta* 261)<sup>107</sup>

One of the deceptive “false idols” which was brought down by radical naturalism was the ethereal “angel of the home,” representative of the “rancid” Isabeline period.

Radical naturalism intended to shake the bourgeois foundations of the Spanish Restoration and became a project of literary struggle for a social and literary renaissance.<sup>108</sup> The movement intended to distance itself as much as possible from bourgeois literary standards in order to search for social ailments by observing, describing and exposing symptoms to find the roots of disease. Following the theories of heredity and determinism, evolution and degeneration by Mendel, Lamarck, Morel, Galton, Darwin, Malthus and Weismann (Cleminson 27-44), these novels blamed biological heredity, triggered by a tainted social environment, as the root of social disease. Radical naturalists equated themselves to doctors who used the tools of medicine to “dissect” the literary character, and their novels became “un caso médico, un documento humano que evaluaba los daños sociales hasta encontrar una curación posible” (Puebla Isla 233).<sup>109</sup> By doing this, radical naturalism predated the regenerative movements springing from the loss of the last Spanish colonies in 1898, which made an analogy between Spain and a diseased, weakened body needing to be cured (Correa 56; Paolini 48).

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<sup>107</sup> (it opens people’s eyes [...] it has come to knock down false idols which those fool and selfish present on top of high pedestals [...]. Do not be intimidated by the crudeness of language, which is the mud in the over flooded river; frightening at the beginning, a source of prosperity in the end. Like beauty, there is only one truth and people who go chasing for circumlocutions and fishing for beautiful words to dress up human actions, if they do it with good intentions, they fool themselves, and fool you)

<sup>108</sup> López Bago and Sawa’s works were published by a Madrid publishing house symbolically called *Biblioteca del Renacimiento Literario*.

<sup>109</sup> (a medical case, a human document which evaluated social harm until finding a possible cure)

For Sawa, the Spanish political environment and the bourgeois values it embodied was the cause of many of those “daños sociales” radical naturalism dissected and evaluated. He considered the 1868 *Gloriosa Revolution* and the short-lived First Spanish Republic (1873-1874) a mockery, a smoke screen to favor economic speculation, preserve bourgeois double standards and hypocrisy and, eventually, restore the monarchy in the figure of Isabel II’s son, Alfonso XII. Politicians were equated by Sawa to diseased, weakened and aberrant individuals responsible for the failure of the First Spanish Republic “encarnada en medrosos como Figueras, en andróginos como Castelar, en caquéxicos como Salmerón, en sistemas como Pi y Margall, ¡Dios mío, qué antipática pesadilla!” (*Iluminaciones en la sombra* 138).<sup>110</sup> In contrast to the “rachitic,” “anemic,” “imbecile” and “androgynous” bourgeoisie and its economic interests, the radical naturalist writer was praised by Sawa in very manly terms as virile, “enérgico,” “bizarro,” “el temperamento más heroico de la época,” “atrevido, que es el deber del pensador y el soldado” (“Impresiones de un lector” 295-6).<sup>111</sup> The new 1869 constitution, which granted freedom of the press, publication, religion and reunion, were for Sawa “crumbs” to satisfy bourgeois interests. The perpetuation of Spanish cultural ignorance and mediocrity after the revolution were embodied by the pervasive power of traditional

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<sup>110</sup> (incarnated by faint-hearted individuals such as Figueras, androgynous individuals such as Castelar, an anemic such as Salmerón, demagogues like Pi y Margall. My God, what a disagreeable nightmare!)

<sup>111</sup> (energetic, gallant, the most heroic temperament at the time, daring, which is the thinker and soldier’s duty)

“Impresiones de un lector” was an appendix to López Bago’s novel *El cura. Caso de incesto* (1886). About the myth of the man of reason’s physical and mental integrity and his full commitment to science and progress over personal gain and physical pleasure, see Dijkstra, Bram. *Evil Sisters. The threat of female sexuality and the cult of manhood*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996, Chapter II. *Vital essence and blighting mildew*.

institutions such as the Catholic Church and its allies, Catholic doctors, which he attacked ruthlessly in *Crimen legal*.

The aggressive response of radical naturalism to the survival of Isabeline, Catholic standards in the medical establishment was probably ignited by a boom in the publication of hygiene manuals in the second half of the century. A dramatic rise in public interest in science, thanks to the development of microbiology and the “germ theory,” favored the widespread preoccupation with hygiene. For Aurora Granjel and Esteban Rodríguez Ocaña, between 1865 and 1885 Spanish hygiene had progressed to be a more European-like, scientifically solid and positivistic discipline thanks to political stability during the Bourbon Restoration. This process was also fostered by the discovery of microbes, the agents of infection, and the creation of vaccines and new protocols for disinfection such as asepsis and pasteurization by Koch, Pasteur and Pettenkoffer (Granjel 40). This gave the idea of cleanliness full scientific support, transforming germs in “the invisible enemy, fought at every turn. Germ theory reinforced every single lesson of the old gospel of cleanliness, but the ‘eternal vigilance’ now required made house-cleaning a heavy burden of responsibility; its neglect was akin to murder” (Smith 299). As champions of cleanliness, hygienists gained renewed power:

La relación de la microbiología con el movimiento higienista revisitó caracteres de legitimación profesional. La teoría microbiana desvelaba los factores corruptores y ofrecía un nexo de unión entre los componentes externos y los internos de las enfermedades colectivas. La redefinición del medio social como un universo microbiano garantizaba la necesidad de la presencia del los expertos, sanitaristas entrenados bacteriológicamente y justificaba un aparato

tecnocrático. La ola de esperanza y admiración pública que rodeó el éxito de la vacuna contra la rabia o el suero antidiftérico, multiplicó la autoridad de la medicina científica, fortaleciendo la posición tecnocrática. (Rodríguez Ocaña 40)<sup>112</sup>

This turning point in matters of prevention was reflected in the creation of the first Spanish *Sociedad Española de Higiene* in 1881 which intended to propagate the discipline, create demographic statistics and perfect the theoretical and practical study of hygiene. From 1850 until 1904 there were forty five bulletins and newspapers dedicated to hygiene, and the number of other hygiene publications raised dramatically from seventeen edited between 1870 and 1880 to two hundred and forty seven edited between 1880 and 1904 (Granjel 34, 41, 59).

Pedro Manuel Alonso Marañón also argues that there was an “accumulation of approvals” of hygiene textbooks for girls starting in 1879. The 1857 Moyano Law for public education, which mandated school textbooks to be approved by the state, was abolished in 1868 to allow teachers to choose the books “más en armonía con sus doctrinas y adoptar el método de enseñanza que crean más conveniente.”<sup>113</sup> However, the law was reestablished at the beginning of the Bourbon Restoration in 1876, making it illegal to teach with any textbook not appearing in the authorized governmental list (Alonso Marañón 29- 30). While from 1848 until 1878 only thirteen hygiene textbooks were approved, the number rose to sixty eight from 1879 until 1906. The subject “breves

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<sup>112</sup> (The relationship between microbiology and the hygiene movement served as professional legitimacy. The microbe theory revealed the corrupting factors and offered a nexus between the external and internal components of collective disease. The redefinition of the social milieu as a microbial universe guaranteed the need of the experts, health professionals bacteriologically trained, and justified a technocratic apparatus. The wave of hope and public admiration which surrounded the vaccine against rabies or the anti-diphtheria serum, multiplied the authority of scientific medicine, strengthening its technocratic position)

<sup>113</sup> (in harmony with their doctrines and adopt the teaching method they consider the most adequate)

nociones de higiene doméstica,” together with the “labores propias del sexo,” was taught specifically to girls in elementary and superior education, and substituted subjects exclusive for boys such as “breves nociones de agricultura, industria y comercio” (Alonso Marañón 27, 31).

Several factors favored the amazing rise in prescriptive literature: the renewed obsession with cleanliness, the relaxation of publication standards thanks to the 1869 constitution and the subsequent ups and downs of censorship laws during the Restoration’s *turno pacífico* between the liberal moderate and progressive parties of Cánovas and Sagasta (the laws were reestablished in 1879 and rescinded in 1883) (Labanyi 5). This literature, as we have seen, also fed on never-ending popularity of the “woman’s question,” stoked by feminist demands and male imagery of scientific progress.

Doctors as well as many individuals with no scientific background or medical degrees such as teachers like Indalecio Martínez Alcubilla, priests and aristocrats, published conduct manuals for women or girls which included hygiene sections.<sup>114</sup> This “epidemic” of manuals and their dubious authorship ignited the debate and suspicion in realist and naturalist circles on the effects of the medical and state mediation in the citizen’s life, jeopardizing the previous collaboration between hygiene and the existing literary canon. In *Crimen legal* this threat was materialized as a priest or a Catholic doctor who invaded the private sphere of the home. The mediation which in virtuous novels was life-saving, now becomes fatal.

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<sup>114</sup> Martínez Alcubilla was the author to *El diamante de las niñas. Libro de lectura para las señoritas en los colegios y escuelas de primera enseñanza o sea la verdadera educación que conviene a la mujer para llenar los altos fines a que está llamada en el mundo*. Madrid: Espinosa y Bautista Impresores, 1882.

This was also the case in realist novels such as Emilia Pardo Bazán's *Los pazos de Ulloa* (1886), where there is a clear example of this suspicion against hygienists. A representative of hygiene, Doctor Juncal, was mocked by the narrator as a hypocrite and hygiene discredited as ineffective. His hygienic prescriptions, which caused a post-partum depression in his female patient, Nucha, were also contradicted by his behavior as an excessive drinker, eater, smoker and his sexual overexertion. The narrator employed sarcasm to contrast Dr Juncal's hygienic expertise with his emaciated appearance. Supposedly he knew

recientes y osadas hipótesis científicas alardeando de materialismo higiénico, ponderando mucho la acción bienhechora de la madre naturaleza [...] Aquel fanático de la higiene no predicaba con el ejemplo. Asegurábase que tenía la culpa el ron y una panadera de Cebre, con salud para vender y regalar a cuatro doctores higienistas. (151-2)<sup>115</sup>

Didacticism and moralization in the shape of “libros híbridos que aspiran a corregir deleitando” were also mocked by Pardo Bazán, and related to Spanish lack of initiative and creativity; books like Spanish hygiene manuals, which addressed women as if they were children:

Los extranjeros piensan con más acierto, pues comprendiendo que el género de lecturas varía según las edades y estados, y que desde la edad en que el niño deletrea hasta la plenitud de la razón, media un período durante el cual algo ha de leer, escribe obras a propósito para la infancia y la juventud, obras en que se

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<sup>115</sup> (recent and daring scientific hypothesis boasting of hygienic materialism, pondering a great deal the beneficial effects of mother nature [...]. That fanatic of hygiene did not set an example. People were sure the reasons were rum and a baker from Cebre, healthy enough to sell and give away energy to four hygienist doctors)

emplean a menudo plumas discretas y famosas, hábiles en adaptarse al grado de desarrollo que suelen alcanzar las facultades del público especial a quien se consagran. Por nuestra tierra no dejan de escribirse libros anodinos y mucilaginosos: sólo que sus autores pretenden cautivar a todas las edades, cuando en realidad no se salvan de aburrir a ninguna. (*La cuestión palpitante* 265)<sup>116</sup>

For Pardo Bazán, the most pernicious element of didactic genres, which the author especially related to Spain in contrast to other countries, was the reinterpretation of morality to fit the author's point of view. According to Pardo Bazán, their lack of neutrality and objectivity ought to cause more damage for the reader than naturalism if he or she took them seriously (*La cuestión palpitante* 265).

Alejandro Sawa's crudeness and potent style in *Crimen legal*, designed to contrast with the figurative, clichéd style of the idealist "libros anodinos y mucilaginosos" Pardo Bazán mocked, positioned him on the side of male scientific objectivity. Sawa portrayed the following as insurmountable obstacles to progress in Spain: the mixture of personal and religious bias with science and medicine; ignorance and the lack of academic rigor; the public suspicion and rejection of foreign trends such as naturalism, which reflected the political and social stagnation at this time. This negligence on the part of the Spanish government and society made Sawa feel as a stranger in his own land. In

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<sup>116</sup> (Foreigners are wiser for, understanding that the types of readings change depending on age and state, and that from the time in which a child starts spelling until he reaches the peak of reason there is a period in between in which something must be read, they write appropriate works for childhood and youth, frequently by wise, famous pens which are skillful in adapting to the degree of development of their audience. In our land people keep writing insipid and dull books: their authors intend to captivate all ages, when, in reality, nobody is safe from the boredom they cause)



autobiographical *Iluminaciones en la sombra*, posthumously published in 1910, Sawa expressed this feeling and considered himself

un extemporáneo; siempre en mis lecturas de las tristes hojas periódicas de Madrid el presente me parece cosa del pasado o de una vaga realidad de ensueño. Mis contemporáneos son, al estrechar sus manos, fantasmas inciertos de los que no sé sino que se llaman López, Martínez, García... No tengo la psicología de ellos, y frecuentemente me perturban al sentir que no conozco el idioma que hablan; son, sin embargo, mis contemporáneos y mis compañeros. Falsamente. Yo no soy de aquí, y mi cronología no se mide en la esfera de los relojes. (92)<sup>117</sup>

The author's confusion and frustration with the Spanish reality of his time is expressed with a metaphor of not understanding the language of his colleagues and "contemporáneos," of the present being "a thing of the past," a "vague fantastic reality."

The pervasive Isabeline angelic model and clichéd language, which still persisted in the 1880s and 1890s in the shape of hygiene and conduct manuals for women and girls, was one of these things of the past Sawa fought against and abhorred the most. The most pervasive romantic cliché referred to the ideal of bourgeois female beauty: the metaphor of woman as a delicate flower. Beauty is political, Lakoff and Scherr affirm, for it

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<sup>117</sup> (ahead of my time; when I read the sad newspapers of Madrid I always feel like the present is a thing of the past or the vague reality of a dream. When I shake hands with people of my time I only know that their names are López, Martínez, García, they become dubious ghosts. I do not share their psychology, and frequently I become disturbed when I feel that I do not know what language they are speaking; they are, nevertheless, my contemporaries and fellows. False. I am not from here, and my chronology cannot be measured within the sphere of watches)

Sawa's disillusionment with Spain finally made him leave for Paris, where he remained from 1890 until 1896 and became a "decadent" bohemian acquainted with the most famous artists and writers of turn of the century modernism and decadentism (Zavala 34).

embodies power, something women can exchange in the social market for worldly success, but also there is a threat of failure if this single asset is not enhanced or is lost (20). The myth of beauty as woman's one and only chance of happiness, acting as a magnet for man's love, was still marketed by end of the century hygiene manuals in contradictory angelic terms: the female material body was a paragon of perfection and closely linked to the female soul or "essence," both superior and charming but also inferior and weak. With the help of sentimental figurative language, the angelic woman's body was fabricated by the male hygienist as a sublime harmonious creation, frequently compared to a flower:

Es la mujer, sin contradicción alguna, una de las obras maestras, una de las glorias de la creación. Flor brillante que realza el colorido de la naturaleza y fecundiza el género humano con sus dulces perfumes: rayo de amor que disipa la indiferencia, enfervoriza los sentidos y el alma. Dios, al crear a la mujer, dotóla de todas las riquezas del organismo, de todas las perfecciones de la forma, para que fuera la más bella y deliciosa de las criaturas. Y efectivamente ningún ser sobre la tierra presenta más donaire, elegancia y atractivos. Fijaos en ese precioso cuerpo de joven: ¡qué armonía tiene! ¡qué delicadeza de detalles! Doquiera se desliza la línea sobre superficies afelpadas; doquiera ondula muellemente, se hincha, se redondea en relieve, o se deprime y esconde con misterio; jamás vense ángulos bruscos, sino curvas suaves, admirables, y blandos contornos. (Debay 1)<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> (without any doubt woman is one of the masterpieces and glories of creation. A bright flower which highlights the colors of nature and makes humanity fertile with her sweet perfumes: a ray of love which dissipates indifference and arouses the senses and the soul. God, when He created woman, He endowed her

Hygienist traditionally considered that meddling in activities outside of the domestic impaired or impeded woman's motherly mission and made her lose her delicate beauty and worth in patriarchal society. Euphemistically put, this behavior made her "lose their angel wings." Indalecio Martínez Alcubilla's *El diamante de las niñas. Libro de lectura para las señoritas en los colegios y escuelas de primera enseñanza o sea la verdadera educación que conviene a la mujer para llenar los altos fines a que está llamada en el mundo* (1882)<sup>119</sup> included a whole section on the "intrusión de la mujer en asuntos que no son propios de su sexo" to emphasize woman's angelic attributes as the only desirable ones:

Sois llamadas a ser el ángel de paz y de bondad de la sociedad, como estáis destinadas a dulcificar las amarguras del hogar, en cuyo santuario podéis ejercer noblemente vuestras patriarcales funciones. Salirse del sagrado templo donde debéis reposar tranquilas y donde las atenciones de esposas o madres deben reteneros para invadir un campo que no os pertenece mezclándoos en asuntos de Estado de la exclusiva competencia de los hombres, es, sobre ridículo, altamente inconveniente. (186)<sup>120</sup>

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with all the riches of the body and perfection of form so she could be the most beautiful and delicious of creatures. And for sure not other being on Earth has her grace, elegance and charms. Look at that beautiful young body: how harmonious! How delicate in its details! Everywhere her lines flow on velvety surfaces; everywhere she softly waves, swells, becomes round or depressed, hiding mysteriously; you will never see tough angles, but soft curves, admirable, and tender contours)

French hygienist Auguste Debay, widely translated and quoted in Spanish hygiene manuals was the author of the leading marriage manual in France (Laqueur 195). This fragment belongs to 1875 *Enciclopedia higiénica de la belleza. Fisiología descriptiva de las treinta bellezas de la mujer*.

<sup>119</sup> (*The little girl's diamond. A textbook for young ladies in primary schools, or the true education which is appropriate for women to fulfill the great duties they are called to fulfill in this world*). In the cover of his manual, Alcubilla is presented as "Jefe de administración civil, Académico correspondiente de la Historia, de otras Corporaciones Científicas, y autor de varias obras de enseñanza, etc, etc."

<sup>120</sup> (You are called to be the angel of peace and kindness of society, as you are destined to make sweet the bitterness of home, sanctuary in which you can nobly exercise your patriarchal functions. To come out of your sacred temple where you must rest quiet and where your duties as wives and mothers must keep you,

Martínez Alcubilla also used quotes from a Madrid newspaper on certain women trying to “correr ministerios presentando exposiciones en asuntos impropios de su sexo” for didactic purposes, in order to dramatize the loss of social “respect” for women who tried to participate in politics.<sup>121</sup> These women euphemistically “lost their angel wings,” their worth or “brillo,” representing their sexual pollution.

Martínez Alcubilla does not name the paper or give specifics about this transgression:

Queremos, en fin, la mujer mujer, no la queremos hombre [...] La mujer cuando ama, cuando socorre, cuando ejerce actos de caridad, de abnegación, de cariño, cuando preside las alegrías de hogar, de la Patria o de la sociedad, es un ángel del cielo. Cuando discute, cuando zahiere, cuando se mezcla en las luchas políticas, cuando se convierte en paladín, en soldado de un partido; cuando pelea, aunque venza, pierde sus alas de ángel, abandona sus condiciones de mujer y con ellas el escudo que la protege, el espíritu que la ensalza, el brillo que impone admiración y respeto. (187, emphasis mine)<sup>122</sup>

Martínez Alcubilla employed antithesis to underscore the separation between men and women; the public and the domestic spheres: when women trespassed this boundary, they became hurtful soldiers, not true women (*mujer mujer*) but fallen angels, manly women.

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is to invade a field that does not belong to you -getting involved in matters of the State- which is not only for men exclusively, but highly ridiculous and inconvenient for you)

<sup>121</sup> (run for positions and lecture on matters inappropriate of their sex)

<sup>122</sup> (all in all, we want a real woman, we do not want her a man [...]). When a woman loves, aids, is charitable, abnegated, loving, and when she presides the happiness of the home, the Homeland or society, she is an angel from heaven. But when she argues, hurts, meddles in political struggles, when she becomes a champion, a soldier for a party; when she fights, no matter that she wins, she loses her angel wings. She forsakes her essence as woman and, with those wings, the shield which protects her, the spirit which uplifts her, the gloss which makes her admirable and respectable)

Dr. Francisco de Paula Campá also perpetuated the fiction of woman's true nature around domestic virtue, pregnancy and motherhood.<sup>123</sup> His *Calendario de la preñez e Higiene de la mujer en cinta* (1874) was a great example of a Spanish hybrid manual which mixed old, new, Spanish and foreign views on pregnancy. Dr. Campá went against old-fashioned and, many times, noxious beliefs about pregnancy based on popular belief, what he called the "plague of superstition" of the "comadres" (141).<sup>124</sup> He lifted many traditional-based restrictions about pregnancy such as taboos on bathing and doing exercise, and recommended using light underwear and changing it frequently (99,119) together with the elimination of the corset, which deformed the uterus (70). Unlike more traditional doctors, he did not prescribe extreme changes in diet, suggesting a will to normalize pregnancy instead of pathologizing it. Dr. Campá was not against the satisfaction of urges or "antojos," usually depicted by hygienists as proof of women's hysterical temperament. Eating ice cream, sorbet, coffee or even drinking alcohol were authorized if common sense was used (96-7). The manual also offered women a modern calendar to predict the time of birth of their babies, designed by Doctor Tibone in Turín, Italy.

Overwhelming erudition such as Monlau's was substituted with a friendly, non-aggressive style reminiscent of virtuous literature. For example, Dr. Campá used *captatio benevolentia* in the introduction in order to create a bond with the reader by presenting his manual as "naked" of scientific pretensions and, therefore, reader-friendly, as "un libro pequeño [...] completamente desnudo de pretensiones científicas, pero rico en

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<sup>123</sup> On the cover of manuals it was frequent to have a brief curriculum with the credentials and professional achievements of the writer in order to give credibility to the contents. Dr. Campá appears as professor of obstetrics and special diseases of women and children at the University of Valencia.

<sup>124</sup> (female friends and neighbors)

preceptos prácticos” (11). His manual and himself were a “guía celoso y discreto que las lleve [a las mujeres] de la mano en los primeros pasos de la maternidad” (19).<sup>125</sup>

However, despite this purported proximity and complicity, the author truly reaffirmed the authority of the doctor and the manual as “intelligent” and prudent in contrast to women, whose sense of decency made them commit indiscretions which endangered themselves and the fetus during pregnancy. Hence, expecting mothers

necesitan en su inexperiencia un guía celoso y discreto que las lleve de la mano en los primeros pasos de la maternidad. La mujer es siempre reservada y difícilmente da cuenta a un extraño de los fenómenos que en sí misma experimenta durante los primeros tiempos del matrimonio. ¡Cuántas veces hasta el esposo ignora lo que ella siente y no se atreve a divulgar! En este caso puede muy fácilmente cometer indiscreciones, verdaderas imprudencias, que produzcan en su día fatales resultados, sólo porque una persona inteligente no ha podido indicarle su regla de conducta. (19)<sup>126</sup>

In contrast to the author’s seeming scientific humility, the book was fully dressed with the biased language of sentimentality to reinforce women’s fragility and defenselessness, which called for the help of the male doctor. First of all, Dr. Campá commanded the young female readers to accept the book, due to the great obligation maternity represented for the good of society and humanity: “acéptenlo las jóvenes

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<sup>125</sup> (a little book [...] totally naked of scientific pretensions, but rich in practical advice) (a sure and discreet guide which takes women by the hand in those first steps of maternity)

<sup>126</sup> (they need, due to their inexperience, a sure and discreet guide which takes women by the hand in those first steps of maternity. Women are always reserved and it is very difficult for them to talk to a stranger about certain issues which they suffer from early in marriage. How many times even husbands ignore what they feel and do not dare to reveal! In this case women can commit many indiscretions, true negligence, which can lead to fatal results, only because an intelligent person was not able to point out a rule of conduct to them)

llamadas pronto a los grandes deberes de madre” (20).<sup>127</sup> Not unlike Monlau and the virtuous writers twenty years earlier, Dr. Campá still idealized women as poetic and mysterious beings, the favorite for doctors due to their “interesting fragility” (5). This fragility, their supposed physical and mental weakness and defenselessness, legitimized the medical connection between them and children.<sup>128</sup> Therefore, for this hygienist, woman was

el ser excepcional, que reuniendo todo lo grande, complicado y perfecto del rey de la creación, presenta sin embargo, al lado de esos grandes rasgos, todo lo delicado, susceptible y encantador de una naturaleza angelical infundida en las formas deleznales de la materia. Por esto el médico debe respetar y venerar más que otro alguno a la dulce compañera del hombre [...]. Háse dicho, y no sin razón que la mujer es un niño grande: esta expresiva frase que para algunos envuelve una censura, es sin embargo, el mejor elogio que puede hacerse de las hijas de Eva. ¿Hay algo que interese más al hombre que la tierna infancia? ¿Hay algún ser de la creación que tenga más derecho a la estimación, a los cuidados, a la benevolencia, que los seres que sólo conocen la aurora de su vida? (5-6)<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> (young women called to the great duty of maternity must accept it)

<sup>128</sup> The medical discourse on women’s childishness, gender bias presented by doctors as “scientific” and clear evidence of female propensity to disease and lack of intellectual soundness, provided the justice system with the justification to exclude married women from controlling their assets, voting, or making any kind of financial transaction without the permission of the husband, being a tutor, keeping custody of their children in case of separation of the spouses, becoming a jury or being a witness (Scanlon 123).

<sup>129</sup> (an exceptional being who, comprising all that is great, complicated and perfect in the king of creation, however, together with these great features, [she] represents everything that is delicate, easily influenced and charming in an angelic nature but in the crumbly shape of matter. That is why the doctor must respect and adore man’s sweet companion more than any other being [...]. It has been said, and it is very true, that woman is a grown child: this belief, which for many is a defect, is, nonetheless, the best compliment which can be made to Eve’s daughters. Is there anything more interesting to man than tender childhood? Is there

Here Dr. Campá becomes a representative of the figurative language full of circumlocutions naturalism intended to eliminate. Women's poetic nature was expressed by a wide array of literary tropes such as metaphors which made emphasis on women's poeticity and beauty: "hijas de Eva" to refer to women, "la aurora de la vida" to refer to childhood, "cortar el hilo de la existencia" to refer to death; epithets such as "expresiva frase," "tierna infancia," "noble corazón," "hermoso cuerpo," "lozana juventud," and personification such as "encontradas pasiones," "enfermedades insidiosas."

With the idealization of women, Dr. Campá contradicted his more modern approach towards the pregnant woman to take on the traditional Isabeline discourse of women as beautiful and angelic but frail, unstable beings endangered by their own emotions and by "insidious diseases:"

La mujer, como los niños, no pierde nunca esa debilidad; la mujer en todas las edades de su existencia, es un ser indefenso expuesto por un lado al empuje de encontradas pasiones que luchan por adquirir el dominio de su noble corazón, por otro a la destructora acción de enfermedades insidiosas que minan su hermoso cuerpo, o a las consecuencias del desempeño de las importantes funciones que la naturaleza ha confiado a su organismo, y que con ser las más importantes para la especie, por cuanto conspiran exclusivamente a garantizar su perpetuidad, son sin embargo para ella penibles, dolorosas y gastan

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any other being in the whole of Creation which has more right to love, care, benevolence, than those beings who only know the dawn of their existence?)



rápidamente su lozana juventud, cuando no cortan en hora muy prematura el hilo de una existencia rica aún en esperanzas y en ilusiones. (7-8)<sup>130</sup>

The idea of women's frailty and defenselessness, like that of a child, gave Dr. Campá and his fellow hygienists the perfect excuse to legitimize themselves as women's protectors and saviors.

Despite Dr. Campá's attempt at normalizing the activities carried out during pregnancy, contradictorily women's poetic nature, beauty and mystery resided in her fragility or always being on the verge of the "abyss" of disease. This rhetoric strategy made women dependent on the life-saving expertise of the hygienist. Although many practices such as bathing and exercising were accepted as harmless in this manual, curiously modern leisure activities such as reading novels and watching plays or other spectacles were said to damage the fetus physically and morally. Strong impressions had to be prohibited because "si la tristeza, la amargura y la concentración de espíritu han reinado durante el embarazo, sostenidas tenazmente por espectáculos románticos o por lecturas diabólicas, ¿cuál será el carácter moral que saque el niño?" (141).<sup>131</sup> Women's body was described paradoxically as essential for the survival of humanity, dependent, superior, childish, weakly, natural, ethereal, material, diseased but beautiful and perfect, God's creation.

In his mission to fight the evils of "literatura bonita" which, like hygiene manuals, idealized women and sweetened the crudeness of real life, Alejandro Sawa's *Crimen*

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<sup>130</sup>(Like children, women never lose their weakness, and during their whole life they are defenseless beings, exposed to opposed passions which fight to dominate their noble hearts and, on the other hand, to the destruction caused by insidious diseases which undermine their beautiful body, or the consequences of the important functions nature has conferred on their body and that, although important, are for her pitiful, painful and waste their lively youth [...])

<sup>131</sup> (if sadness, bitterness have reigned during pregnancy, stubbornly sustained by romantic spectacles or diabolic readings, what moral character would the child be born with?)

*legal* exposed in a brutal manner the contradictions embodied in the bourgeois angel ideal, especially those related to pregnancy and maternity. Sawa intended to shatter the bourgeois myth of maternity as desirable, beautiful and healthy for every woman. For shock value, Sawa focused on the ugliest aspects of pregnancy and the moment of childbirth in order to expose the pervasive “contamination” of Spanish science and medicine by Catholicism. To achieve this, Sawa saturated his work with medical jargon, incredibly vivid descriptions of disease, and ruthless physical and psychological descriptions of the characters, who were animalized to present the Spanish social environment as barbaric. Doctors contributed to this barbarism with the biased decisions they took about patients. In contrast to hygiene manuals, which praised pregnancy and childbirth as the cornerstones of every woman’s life and depicted them as a national and social obligation rather than a personal choice, Sawa denounced physical maternity as a bourgeois tool of control with tragic consequences for women.

Ricardo and Rafaela, the protagonists in *Crimen legal*, were a young married couple who ascended from their humble origins to a well-off bourgeois position. Rafaela became pregnant, but complications during childbirth due to the narrowness of her pelvis forced the second doctor who treated her to mutilate the fetus in order to extract it. She was advised not to become pregnant again, at the risk of death. Rafaela’s husband, who had witnessed the gruesome physical changes and symptoms experienced by Rafaela during her abnormal pregnancy and felt revulsion for his wife, fell in love with the prostitute Noemí. The figure of this prostitute represented the turn-of-the-century exotic, promiscuous woman, the “man eater,” who robbed men of their physical and mental

strength.<sup>132</sup> Ricardo's "genetic instincts," exacerbated by Noemí, and his degenerate heredity impelled him to plot Rafaela's death by getting her pregnant again so he would be free to marry his mistress. As the title of the novel conveys, this was a "legal crime" committed with impunity by Ricardo by simply fulfilling his marital duties towards Rafaela.

Besides cultural and religious pressure over couples to marry and have children despite all odds, in *Crimen legal* what precipitated tragedy was an amalgamation of factors related both to biological heredity and social environment. These factors were Rafaela's poor physical constitution, Ricardo's bestiality and murderous heredity, called "el salto atrás" (his great-grandfather had been hanged for being a thief and killer) and the disastrous mediation of a Catholic doctor during Rafaela's pregnancy at the moment of childbirth. Hygienist both advised middle class individuals about finding a physically and mentally fit partner and avoiding problematic marriages as in the case of Rafaela and Ricardo's. However, they also presented marriage and family as the only alternative for the social body to function smoothly, a panacea for what they considered the evils of modern life such as infanticide, abortion, prostitution, sexual overexertion and debility and suicide. Marriage and motherhood became the only desirable and respectable options for women, supposedly their best choice for a healthy and happy life.

In contrast to hygiene manuals and textbooks for girls, which had lengthy poetic introductions on woman's body, character and sublime motherly mission, *Crimen legal* begins with the shocking description of the main characters. Rafaela and Ricardo are ethereal, mysterious or elevated creatures, but as earthly as animals. Sawa tries at all

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<sup>132</sup> Lily Litvak gives the examples of Cleopatra, Salome, Delilah, Eve and Circe. See *Erotismo fin de siglo*. Barcelona, Antoni Bosch, 1981.

costs to eliminate the language of sentimentality in favor of the naturalist writer's discursive solidity and truthfulness advocated by Zola. In this manner, Sawa accumulates medical-pathological and anatomical references which, together with animalization, eliminated any idealism, euphemism or beautiful adornment in his literary description of the characters.

The main characters' defects are based on the idea of an aberrant hybridity (of animal and person in the case of Ricardo), neutrality (lack of definition regarding her sexual features in the case of Rafaela), and the character's profound ignorance; qualities which the narrator associated here with the insipid, conformist bourgeois "justo medio." In any case, Rafaela is depicted more benignly as "sad looking as a dog being caressed," while Ricardo becomes a vain monkey. Rafaela is a twenty two year old girl who is

Regular de todo, de estatura, de gracia, de belleza; regular hasta de inteligencia. Un admirable ejemplar de lo que muchos llaman el justo medio. Era trigueña de color, de ojos castaños, que miraban bondadosamente con la expresión atristada de un perro a que se acaricia; la boca grande y sin elocuencia; la nariz afilada; la frente, no como trono de inteligencia, sino como hueso frontal simplemente, estrecha y sin irradiaciones de ideas; el pelo rubiaco y suave, escaso por el occipital y temporales. (1999: 80)<sup>133</sup>

Rafaela's description from the very beginning contradicts every aspect of the angel model: her beauty and features are not special or interesting, but regular; she has very

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<sup>133</sup> (Average in everything, size, grace, beauty; average even in intelligence. An admirable specimen belonging to what many call "el justo medio." She was olive-skinned. had brown eyes which looked kindly with the sad expression of a dog being caressed; a big mouth without eloquence; a sharp nose; her forehead was not the seat of intelligence but simply a frontal bone, narrow and without any irradiation of ideas; her hair was blonde-like and soft, scarce on the occipital and temporal areas)

thin skin and pale color, which could be a sign of angelic ethereality. However, she lacks hair and her “timid” physical features are compared to a “proyecto sin concluir”.<sup>134</sup> Her sexual neutrality, symbolized by her underdeveloped sexual second traits, her very small breasts, hips and thin thighs, do not represent virtue or spirituality, but the character’s physical weakness. According to the narrator, she is clearly unfit for reproduction: “como quiera que sea, y excepción hecha del sexo, poco indicado, o mejor dicho, apuntado en ella, en toda ella, con miedo, como si aquella mujer fuera un proyecto sin concluir, de hermafroditismo, ni fu ni fa” (1999: 81).<sup>135</sup> In this way, Rafaela’s physical modesty is not depicted positively as an angelic quality, but as a kind of mediocrity or even hermaphroditism, “ni fu ni fa.”<sup>136</sup>

Sawa does not compare Rafaela to a flower, a perfect but delicate being created by God to inspire love in men and destined to be a mother, but an “antiangel” whose anatomy symbolizes a plain truth, her regular and earthly nature. For example, her head is not a “throne of ideas” or a repository of uncanny and inspiring beauty, but simply bones (el hueso frontal, el occipital y los temporales). Rafaela’s poise and way of walking, very important elements reflecting the manners and virtuous education of bourgeois females, are chosen by the narrator to emphasize Rafaela’s “antiangelic” nature. According to María Pilar Sinués de Marco in one of her manual on bourgeois female manners

La verdadera dama evita el ruido y el atraer hacia ella la atención pública por su traje o sus maneras; en la calle, sobre todo, donde pone el más exquisito cuidado para no hacerse notar; sus trajes son de forma sencilla y de color modesto [...];

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<sup>134</sup> (an unfinished project)

<sup>135</sup> (Anyhow, her sex, scarcely marked, merely drafted in her, made that woman look like a project pending conclusion, a hermaphrodite, so-so)

<sup>136</sup> (neither woman, nor man).

anda bastante deprisa, sin volverse y sin pararse durante largo tiempo ante los cristales de las tiendas. (Sinués de Marco, *Manual del buen tono* 187)<sup>137</sup>

Rafaela, on the other hand, is physically unnoticeable and seemingly floats when she walks, but not because of her modesty and spirituality, but due to her “porosity” and her physical and intellectual insubstantiality:

El andar de aquella mujer, de Rafaela, carecía de majestad y de aplomo. Más bien que posada sobre la tierra, parecía suspendida sobre ella. Pero no al modo de las mujeres demasiado espirituales, sino al modo de los cuerpos muy porosos, para los cuales apenas existen las leyes de la gravedad. (1999: 81)<sup>138</sup>

Despite this unflattering description of Rafaela, the narrator makes her the victim in the novel and Ricardo, her murderer, becomes the target of his most ruthless attacks. Ricardo is presented as a sexually perverse beast with a criminal heredity, which, as was typical in criminal anthropology theories by scientists such as Italian Cesare Lombroso, was reflected in his physical features, especially the head and face.<sup>139</sup> He was a mixture

entre hombre y mico, pero vanidoso y altanero por eso, por lo que tenía de mico, lo cual no es un caso nuevo ni extraordinario. Hacía pareja también con su mujer por su estatura. La hacía también por su rachitis. Era moreno; pero no por su naturaleza, sino por desidia [...] se conocía sin embargo que no era el

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<sup>137</sup> (A true lady avoids being noisy and attracting public attention with her dress or manners; it is in the street, above all, that she must be most exquisitely careful not to be noticeable; her dress must be simple and modest in color [...]; she must walk rather quickly, without turning back or stopping in front of the shop windows for a long time)

<sup>138</sup> (That woman's gait lacked majesty and composure. More than settled on the ground, she seemed suspended over it although not like greatly spiritual women, but like a porous body for which the laws of gravity did not exist)

<sup>139</sup> See Paolini, Gilbert. “Alejandro Sawa, *Crimen legal* y la antropología criminal.” *Crítica Hispánica* 6:1 (1984). 47-59.

color viril [...] tenía treinta y dos años, y la pata de gallo tan marcada como otros hombres a los sesenta. La cabeza casi calva, de una calva sucia que parecía sintomática de una enfermedad repugnante y contagiosa, de lepra, de tiña... [...] Ojos de calenturiento, empotrados en cráneo de bestia. Tenía la nariz gorda, nariz glotona, tan móvil como la de un perro perdiguero, y la boca sensual y grosera, de labios belfos, constantemente humedecidos por el continuo entrar y salir de su lengua carnosa y sangrienta. La cabeza de un Heliogábalo. Pero con una gorrita de exquisito gusto cubriéndole el cráneo. (1999: 80-1)<sup>140</sup>

Together with Ricardo's criminal heredity, the "salto atrás" to his great-grandfather's aberrant genes, his physical appearance gives him away as a perverse man. This is symbolized by his thick, wet, animal-like lips and tongue and his feline eyes, which announce his future crime. Ricardo's tastes in fashion, symbolized by his English bonnet, also intend to reflect his luxurious but pragmatic and ridiculous values, which he hypocritically conceals. Like the bonnet, for Sawa the poeticity and spirituality of the angel model marketed in manuals and "literatura bonita" metaphorically concealed bourgeois double standards and mediocrity.

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<sup>140</sup> (Half man, half monkey, but conceited and haughty due to this, to his monkey-like qualities, which is nothing new or extraordinary. He was a good match for his wife in stature and rachitic nature. He was dark-skinned, not because of nature but due to neglect [...] however one could tell that this was not a virile color [...] he was thirty two, and had crow's feet around his eyes as deep as a sixty year old. He was mostly bald, a dirty baldness which seemed a symptom of a repugnant and contagious disease, like leprosy, like ringworm... [...] He had the eyes of a feverish man, incrustated in a beastly cranium. His nose was fat, gluttonous, as mobile as that of a hunting dog, and his mouth was sensual and coarse, thick-lipped, constantly wet by the sticking in and out of his tongue, fleshy and blood-colored. His head resembled Heliogabalus' but with an exquisite little cap covering his cranium)

Heliogabalus or Elagabalus was one of the most abhorred early Roman emperors. His aberrant and decadent tendencies, according to his rivals, made him break religious taboos about sexuality. He was said to have married five times and even to have prostituted himself. Comparing Ricardo's head to that of Heliogabalus emphasizes the character's sexual perversion which, at the end of the novel, leads him to murder Rafaela and join the prostitute Noemí.

Against bourgeois ambivalence and hypocrisy, Sawa tried to use discursive consistency and truthfulness in the shape of medical jargon as his “very male” banner. Radical naturalists proudly considered a firm critical stance against Catholicism and the bourgeoisie the true *revulsivo* (a purge) to prevent and cure Spanish social and cultural mediocrity and ignorance. They intended to shock society and open its eyes to the reality and ugliness of its time.

The topic of sexuality, the most affected by euphemistic language in sentimental novels and conduct manuals, was privileged to remove the blindfold euphemism and idealization placed on the Spanish population, especially women. In this way, the truths of marriage and sexuality were exposed by Sawa through Ricardo’s behavior during his honeymoon. Due to his perverse animality and lack of tact in sexual matters, he wittily used the “cursilería” or “basura del ideal” (idealistic rubbish) of the Bible’s *Song of songs* to seduce Rafaela into having their first sexual encounter. Biblical metaphors and circumlocutions to refer to genitals, intercourse and bodily fluids (the door’s lock and knob, myrrh) were contrasted to Rafaela’s sudden and brutal realization that marital sex was merely similar to dogs smelling each others’ rears. By using the Bible, Sawa also made an analogy between Catholicism and paganism, alluding to and scorning Spain’s Arab culture to suggest religion’s ambiguous position towards sexuality.

This also suggests that the books which comprised women’s education at this time (devotional and prescriptive literature, sentimental literature and folletines) and their euphemistic, elevated style, concealed information and deceived the female population. In contrast, Sawa presented the public with the scientific explicitness and truthfulness of radical naturalism. Rafaela, whose reading had been limited to romance novels and was



scared to death by Ricardo's predatory attitude, fell for this trick and suddenly her idealization of marriage and intimacy was shattered:

¡Ah! Él seguía citando versículos del libro de Dios con la bárbara inspiración de un loco, segregando lo inútil y aprovechando sólo lo que, más que parábola de una religión que predica el desprecio a la carne, parece cantar de serrallo, propio para distraer el aburrimiento de las concubinas de un moro...

“Mi amado metió su mano por al agujero de la puerta, y mis entrañas se conmovieron dentro de mí.”

“Yo me levanté para abrir a mi amado, y mis manos gotearon mirra, y mis dedos mirra, que goteaba sobre las aldabas del candado....” [...]

[Rafaela] Deseaba y temía, todo a un tiempo, la iniciativa sexual de su esposo.

Pero no la creía- ¡palabra de honor que no la creía! –tan bestial y tan espantosa.

¡Ah! Ella había leído cosas del amor como las describen los novelistas, y se sintió maltratada y herida por la realidad, engañada por los folletines que había leído, insultada por aquel hombre que le levantaba las faldas y le mordía en las pantorrillas como un bruto [...] ¡Si ella lo hubiera sabido antes, si lo hubiera sospechado siquiera!... ¿Y eso es el amor, es eso el matrimonio? ¿El

ayuntamiento de los sexos, como en los perros esos que se olfatean el culo por la calle? (1999: 82, 85)<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> (Alas! He continued reciting verses from the book of God with the barbarous inspiration of a madman, segregating those verses useless to him and taking advantage of what, more than the parable of a religion which despises the flesh, seemed like a harem's song, appropriate to distract the boredom of a moor's concubines... “My beloved put his hand in the door's keyhole, and my entrails were moved inside of me.” “I stood up to open up to my beloved, and my hands and fingers dripped myrrh, it dripped on the lock's bolts...” At the same time she wished and feared her husband's sexual initiative. But she didn't expect it to be, for her honor, so beastly and horrid. Alas! She had read about love in novels, and she felt mistreated

Unlike the Isabeline angel, the narrator made sure to pinpoint that Rafaela's fear of intercourse was due to her ignorance and Ricardo's violent attitude, not to the fact that she was an undesiring, passive woman; a myth propagated by hygienists to fit the cultural, ethereal, angelic model.

Surely Dr. Campá, who believed certain "diabolic" readings could affect the unborn fetus, would not recommend radical naturalist novels to the pregnant woman, or any woman at all. In contrast, radical naturalists perceived their novels to be fulfilling a true hygienic mission for they were an antidote against the Catholic idealism of the "literatura bonita," which fostered ignorance as a tool of empowerment for the establishment. For the purpose of scientific objectivity, and to dismantle bourgeois ideals on biological maternity, medical terminology and very vivid and detailed pathological descriptions of the complications of pregnancy and childbirth abounded in *Crimen legal*. Some examples are names of pathologies related to poor heredity and complications during pregnancy, terms such as *clorosis* (anemia), *rachitis* or *osteomalacia*; *decúbito dorsal o lateral*, *auscultaciones* and *estetóscopo* to refer to medical examination; *flujo leucorreico*, *estado varicoso y edematoso*, *pelvis estrecha*, *aréolas centrales y jaspeadas*, *kiestenia en la orina*, *depresión umbilical*, *inflamación del peritoneo*, *estado adinámico y febril*, *úlceras útero-vaginales*, *la separación de las sínfinis de la pelvis* to refer to Rafaela's symptoms and the impossibility of natural delivery; *la primípara* (a woman's first delivery), *distocia* (the impossibility of expelling the fetus), *operación cesárea*,

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and deceived by those newspaper melodramas, insulted by that man who pulled his skirt up and bit her calves live a brute [...] If she had known this before, if she had at least suspected it!... Is that love, is that marriage? The union of the sexes like those street dogs which smell each other's rears?)

*embriotomía* (mutilating the fetus to extract it), *pelvímetro* (an instrument to measure the pelvis), *cefalótribo* (the instrument to extract a stillborn fetus) regarding the surgical procedure Rafaela undergoes (95, 7, 9, 104, 119). This abundance of pathological terms underscores the fact that, unlike the protagonist of a virtuous novel or the exemplary woman in hygiene manuals, Rafaela's pregnancy neither fulfilled woman's beautiful mission vested upon her by God, nor it was the prelude to a happy life and motherly joy.

Besides the emphasis on medical jargon, the parody of romantic and sentimental language and imagery were used to make a stronger contrast with Rafaela's crude reality. Realists and radical naturalists alike considered *frases hechas* (clichés and idioms) the most obvious sign of bourgeois mediocrity. Hygiene usually referred to reproduction and maternal duties as *grandes deberes*, *altos fines* and a *noble misión* and *destino*. In *Crimen legal*, however, this same grandiloquence was mocked to expose the fictive nature of these portrayals. Some examples of this parody are “la más portentosa de todas las funciones del organismo,” “un deber imperioso esencial a su destino” to refer to Ricardo's father quest to find a woman, marry and have children.<sup>142</sup> Nevertheless, Juan's criteria to find the right partner contrast with this “elevated mission,” for he only cares to find a woman “que no ofreciera muchas resistencias para ponerse panza arriba” (1999: 73-4).<sup>143</sup> Sex is referred to as “el santo misterio de la generación de los seres” to make an ironic contrast with the brutality of the rape scene during Ricardo and Rafaela's honeymoon (1999: 92).<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> (the most prodigious of all bodily functions)

<sup>143</sup> (a woman who would not resist much to lying belly up)

<sup>144</sup> (the holy mystery of the generation of human beings)

In the banquet given in honor of Rafaela to celebrate her pregnancy, the language of the bourgeoisie is ruthlessly ridiculed as shallow, vulgar, conventional, anemic and rachitic, devoid of any depth or originality and a sign of ignorance. A toast by one of the guests is described as “un brindis en que había tal profusión de frases hechas y de lugares comunes que ni el Congreso, ni aún en el Senado, se ha escuchado jamás prodigio semejante de vulgaridad y raquitismo” (1999; 92).<sup>145</sup> Similarly, the narrator parodies the imagery of the mother as an angel, employed by another guest, as an example of bourgeois “distorted” or “inverted” education:

Hablaba improvisando, y, ¡cosa increíble! hablaba peor que el otro, con más lujo de vulgaridades y tonterías. Dijo que “la esposa era el ángel del hogar doméstico”; “que el amor de madre era el más puro de todos los sentimientos”; “que cada vez que viene una criatura al mundo temblaban de alegría las esferas”, y otra porción de cosas que aquellos tenderos activos y pasivos aplaudieron a rabiar, por similitud de inteligencia y de imágenes y por preceptos de educación –de educación casera, de educación invertida. (1999: 92)<sup>146</sup>

*Crimen legal*, on the contrary, depicted maternity as a physical and mental torture which put Rafaela on the brink of death due to the moralistic intervention of a Catholic doctor. Instead of wholesomeness, motherhood amounted here to the expecting mother’s disintegration. The fetus was identified with death, a beast trying to scratch its way out of

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<sup>145</sup> (a toast with such an abundance of clichés and platitudes, such a prodigy of vulgarity and rachitis not even heard in Congress or even in the Senate)

<sup>146</sup> (Amazingly, he improvised and he even spoke worse than the other guest, a vulgarity and stupidity galore. He said that “the wife was the angel of the domestic home:”; “that motherly love was the purest of all feelings;” “that every time a child was born, planets trembled with joy,” and a heap of other things that those active and passive shopkeepers applauded rabidly, since they had a similar intelligence and used a similar imagery due to their homely and inverted education)

the mother's "rachitic" body. The tortured mother continuously felt a "cosquilleo de araña en las partes internas del vientre, tan obstinado y tan molesto, que le producía espasmos, especie de convulsiones incesantes" (60).<sup>147</sup> Rafaela perceived the baby as "un cuerpo extraño a expeler, bicho rabioso, animal en furia, culebrón monstruoso, mico, o diablillo que le mordía el vientre" (79- 80):<sup>148</sup>

era la misma muerte apretándole las entrañas y arañándole en el pecho, hacia las costillas, para abrirle grietas y boquetes por donde pudiera con entera libertad de acción escaparse la vida, ya harta y hasta avergonzada de permanecer encerrada en cárcel tan mezquina como el raquítrico organismo de aquella mujer, que tenía la pretensión inaudita de reproducirse, de dar vida.  
(69)<sup>149</sup>

For entire passages all possible symptoms and complications during pregnancy were literarily inscribed on Rafaela's body to demystify traditional imagery of the female body as a beautiful temple. We have seen in previous chapters how the female breast had very strong ties to Christianity and the cult of Virgin Mary, and was idealized by hygienists as the physical and moral link between mother and child. Nevertheless, in Rafaela's case the breasts, together with her belly and genitals, became sources of disease and suffering vividly described with the help of an overwhelming amount of anatomical terms:

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<sup>147</sup> (a spidery tickling in the inside of the belly, so stubborn and bothersome, that gave her spasms, some sort of incessant convulsions)

<sup>148</sup> (a foreign object to be expelled, a rabid beast, furious animal, monstrous snake, monkey, or little devil who bit her belly)

<sup>149</sup> (it was death itself squeezing her entrails and scratching her bosom, towards her ribs, to open cracks and holes from where life could escape freely, so fed up and even ashamed of remaining trapped in such a miserable prison as was that woman's rachitic organism, a woman who had the incredible aspiration of reproducing, of giving life)

La tumefacción de los pechos, la prominencia de los pezones, la coloración viva y acentuada de sus areolas centrales y la extensión creciente de la areolas jaspeadas, las evacuaciones de leche, la desaparición de la depresión umbilical, la kiesteina en la orina, las granulaciones vaginales, el flujo leucorreico. (60, 67)<sup>150</sup>

Rafaela's body became a deposit of infection and fluids, and the fetus an entity totally alienated from the mother:

los estremecimientos insoportables del feto en su cárcel, [...] el estado varicoso y edematoso de los miembros inferiores y de la vulva, que la hacía pensar con amor en la muerte; las granulaciones vaginales tan profusas, que habían hecho de sus partes un depósito de pus, mejor que el sexo de una mujer...; el flujo leucorreico abundante..., viscoso..., manchándole los muslos, pringándole las sábanas [...] Tenía manchada de vómitos verdes la colcha de la cama; y como todo su cuerpo era una convulsión, desde los pies a la cabeza, y las vomituriciones no cesaban nunca, aquella habitación se había convertido en un albañal tan lleno de viscosidades de todo género, que casi llegaban a los tobillos del médico. (60)<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> (the tumefaction of the breasts, the prominence of the nipples, the vivid and accentuated color of the central areola and the growing extension of the speckled areolas, the milk discharges, the disappearance of the umbilical depression, the kiestenia in her urine, the vaginal granules, the leukorrhean flow)

<sup>151</sup> (the unbearable movement of the child in its prison [...] the varicose and edematous state of the lower limbs and of the vulva, which made her think sweetly in death; such a profusion of vaginal granules, which had turned her privates in a deposit of pus rather than a woman's sex...; the abundant, viscous leukorrhean flow... blemishing her thighs, getting her sheets greasy. Her bed cover was stained with green vomit; and since all her body was a mere convulsion, from head to toe, and her vomiting would not cease, that room was similar to a sewer so full of viscosities of all kinds, that they almost reached the doctor's ankles)

In contrast to this crude reality, the omniscient narrator presented the reader with Rafaela's hallucinations or dreams of the ideal maternity marketed in hygiene manuals, virtuous novels and *folletines*, unattainable for Rafaela:

En aquellos momentos trágicos, después de tantos días de parto [...] perdida la razón por la violencia de los dolores; hecha un mar de viscosidades y porquerías... Rafaela pensaba, evocaba en voz alta los sueños que perturbaron su fantasía de niña, allá en sus noches de virgen conmovida; hablaba a gritos con su madre, ya muerta, y con sus amigas ausentes, del niño que habían de traerle de París, muy chiquito, sonrosado todo él, desde los piececitos hasta la mollera, agitándose con movimientos dulces y graciosos en la canastilla enguantada color de rosa con lazos azules [...]. (1999; 116)<sup>152</sup>

Rafaela imagined that she was running on flowers, meadows and rivers, among mythical female figures such as the sylphs. In *Crimen legal* these dreams became only deliriums of a feverish woman: "Deliraba la loca con lo que, siendo cuerda, era su pensamiento latente. El campo, las flores, la maternidad, esa maternidad ante cuyas aras era inmolada" (113).<sup>153</sup>

Rafaela was not only a victim of nature and heredity, which gave her a weak, anemic body unfit for pregnancy and a narrow, "monstrous" pelvis which impeded normal birthing. For the narrator, Madrid's social environment and the bourgeois, Catholic values of marriage and family were the ones which condemned her to an unhappy

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<sup>152</sup> (In those tragic moments, after so many days trying to give birth [...] her sanity was lost to the violence of her pain; turned into a sea of viscosities and filth ... Rafaela thought about and evoked aloud the dreams which disturbed her little girl's fantasies, back in her night as a moved virgin; she yelled to her mother, already dead -and talked with her absent friends- of the child from Paris, very little, pink-colored, from his tiny feet to the head, sweetly and cutely squirming in a pink crib covered with blue ribbons)

<sup>153</sup> (Gone crazy, she hallucinated with flowers, maternity, that maternity in whose altar she was being sacrificed, with those things which were latent in her mind when sane)

marriage and an agonizing pregnancy. This ideology was embodied by Catholic Doctor Nieto, a representative of the central state as “médico de cámara de la casa Real” (62). This doctor, knowing that Rafaela’s chances to deliver normally were scarce, did not practice an abortion while still viable. During childbirth, he followed a procedure which, for the narrator, was also typical of doctors biased by their religious beliefs: he preferred to do a C section to save the fetus and sacrifice the mother. Doctor Nieto’s ambivalent stance in his medical practice symbolized the great potential of Spanish science, curtailed by religious beliefs. He was feminized by the narrator by qualifying him as a *beato*, a term employed to refer to female devoutness:

Aquel bruto, que era un sabio, se hizo infame, porque la religión católica, aplicada a muchas cosas de la vida, lleva a la infamia. Lleva a la infamia y a la anulación del progreso, en lo ideal; lleva a la infamia y a la anulación humana, en lo real. ¡Simiente odiosa de perdición! [...] Él sabía que no provocando a tiempo preciso, y cuanto antes mejor, el aborto, antes del sexto mes, condenaba a muerte a Rafaela, pero la condenaba en frío, como si el oficio de médico fuese análogo al de verdugo [...] ¡Oh! El catolicismo, ¡qué cuentas más estrechas le debe a la moral y a la conciencia humanas! (66-7)<sup>154</sup>

When Rafaela’s father in law ruled out the option of doing a C section, an atheist, positivist doctor was called in and decided to practice an *embriotomy* to save the mother. In order to reinforce the need for a positivist, non biased medical establishment in Spain,

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<sup>154</sup> (That brute, who was a wise man, became infamous because Catholicism, applied to many things in life, leads to infamy. Ideally, it leads to infamy and the elimination of progress; in reality, it leads to infamy and human annihilation. Odious seed of perdition! [...]. He knew that if he did not induce an abortion, the sooner the better, before the sixth month, he was sentencing Rafaela to death, cold blooded, as if the medical profession was analogous to that of the executioner [...] Alas! Catholicism, you owe so much to morality and the human conscience!)



foreign science was used by Sawa to legitimize himself as a fighter against the ignorance and the arrogance of the Church:

Los obispos y cardenales reunidos en Roma para la celebración de concilios, saben más de moral, y sobre todo de ciencia obstétrica, que Moreau, Chailly, Jacquemier, Adamas, Aubert, Baudriment, Saint-Ange, Béclard, Van Deneden, Von Berres, Bischoff, Cruikshank, Haighton, y que todos los fisiólogos y los patólogos juntos. (105)<sup>155</sup>

Similarly to Sawa's fighting role in the radical naturalist movement, Rafaela finally survived the ordeal thanks to the neutrality and professionalism of a young doctor, a champion of positivism. Hence, the bold sincerity and objectivity of radical naturalism, untainted by personal interest or religious beliefs, was presented as the salvation for the ills of Spanish society.

In contrast to Rafaela's Isabeline dream of a rosy cheeked baby in a crib, once extracted the fetus was described as a "masa repugnante sanguinolenta, más asqueroso aún que los barreños de grasas y mondongos que sirven de rótulo a las triperías" (105).<sup>156</sup> There was not a trace of idealization of maternity in *Crimen legal*. Any bond between mother and child, taken for granted as something "natural" and beneficial in hygiene and virtuous literature, was severed. On the contrary, instead of hygiene's idealization of

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<sup>155</sup> (All the bishops who gather in Rome to celebrate councils know more about morality and, above all, about obstetrics, than Moreau, Chailly, Jacquemier, Adamas, Aubert, Baudriment, Saint-Ange, Béclard, Van Deneden, Von Berres, Bischoff, Cruikshank, Haighton, and all the physiologists and pathologists)

<sup>156</sup> (a repugnant and bloody mass, much more disgusting than those buckets of grease and guts which serve as signs for the tripe market)

nature as the epitome of health, here nature and God were not depicted as nurturing but ruthless, “infame y cobarde, no tiene entrañas..., sordo-muda implacable” (61).<sup>157</sup>

Despite the fact that Sawa attempted to distance his novel from the “literatura bonita” he abhorred, according to his mentor, Eduardo López Bago, there was a pervasive blot in his pupil’s works: his idealist “feminine” side, the result of the influence of Sawa’s favorite author, romantic Victor Hugo. Together with the horrid description of disease, in *Crimen legal* we find poetic judgments and dramatic exclamations from the narrator, for example against the wrong-doing of the Catholic Church. Sarcasm also abounds, together with contempt for many of the characters and even religious imagery.

The narrator’s clear stance against the bourgeoisie went against the naturalist rule of disguising mediation as much as possible. This was epitomized by the passage representing the banquet given in honor of Ricardo’s and Rafaela’s future child, in which sarcasm and exclamation were used profusely to refer to the mediocrity and predictability of bourgeois tastes and opinions: “mojigatas [las opiniones] y rastreros los juicios” (1999: 90-1).<sup>158</sup> The narrator even mocked the criticism of some of the bourgeois guests against López Bago, whom they considered a drunk and degenerate. The narrator sarcastically discards these comments as “profunda sabiduría y justicia de esta crítica literaria” (1999: 91).<sup>159</sup>

Despite his criticism of bourgeois religious values, the narrator used religious imagery to victimize the female protagonist. Rafaela’s pain when confronted with Ricardo’s infidelity was compared to martyrdom and Christ’s lonely agony in

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<sup>157</sup> (infamous and a coward, without entrails... a ruthless deaf-mute)

<sup>158</sup> (sanctimonious opinions and lowly judgments)

<sup>159</sup> (profound wisdom and justice of this literary criticism)

Gethsemane (186). Ricardo's lover, on the other hand, was another "social martyr," a "santa de calendario" condemned by society to prostitute herself. All in all, these judgments contradicted one the most important tenets of naturalism: the objective, "scientific" distance between author and text.

López Bago's diagnosis of Sawa's stylistic flaws was that he could not help being "un romántico de tomo y lomo." As a response to his deviation from naturalist dictates, López Bago wrote an appendix to *Crimen legal* in which he "told off" Sawa for mixing romantic style with naturalism:

Alejandro Sawa ha seguido el camino que, dado su talento, yo le tenía pronosticado; tráfuga de opiniones, romántico y espiritualista ayer, y naturalista hoy, al escribir *Crimen Legal*, hay que juzgar su novela con arreglo a estas circunstancias en que se ha producido, como el primer acto de valor que realiza bajo sus nuevas banderas; es valiente, muy valiente el nuevo luchador, y por ahora no se le puede pedir que conozca a fondo nuestra ordenanza desde el primer día; de aquí resulta un poco indisciplinado. ¿Qué importa? La indisciplinada, como todo lo que es hermoso, puede corregirse. (1999: 207)<sup>160</sup>

The male discourse of war was used by López Bago to welcome Sawa as a new soldier in the regiment of naturalism, and his courage was praised. Ironically, Sawa's tendency to sentimentality was medicalized and attributed to Galen's ancient theory of temperaments.

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<sup>160</sup> (Alejandro Sawa has followed the way which, given his talent, I had foreseen for him; a deserter of opinion, a romantic and spiritualist yesterday and a naturalist today, after writing *Crimen Legal* one must judge the novel according to these circumstances, as his first act of courage under his new flag; he is brave, our new fighter is very brave, and right now we cannot ask of him that he knows in depth our ordinance; that is why he seems a little bit undisciplined. Who cares? Indiscipline, as everything that is beautiful, can be corrected)

According to López Bago, Sawa was sanguine, dominated by passion, exuberance, indiscipline, nervousness and an instinct for beauty:

Un estilo de temperamento nervioso-sanguíneo, suelto, fuerte, robusto, con mucho color, y poseyendo el instinto, raro en nuestra época, de la belleza material de los vocablos. Modernista, no lo es mucho en sus gustos, en sus aficiones, y es un contraste raro con su estilo, que llega hasta el afán de descubrimientos en el lenguaje. (1999: 207)<sup>161</sup>

In order not to emasculate Sawa completely, López Bago praised the new author's temperament as strong and robust and, therefore, rectifiable. We have seen how Zola used fashion (jewelry, pompons, frills) to illustrate what he thought was the mediocrity and uselessness of romantic style. In a similar way, López Bago made an analogy with decoration to imply that, in order to be fully admitted as a radical naturalist, Sawa's stylistic defects, his romantic-feminine side, had to be little by little disposed of as old, useless furniture in a new home:

Es maravilloso que, cargado de inutilidades (baratijas que se ha traído de la casa de los románticos, para vivir en la nuestra, y que irá vendiendo a los compradores de lo viejo), con tales embelecocos, pueda ser y sea espontáneo, vibrante, sincero, y amoldando exactamente a la impresión las palabras destinadas al análisis detallado. (1999: 207)<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> (His style is of a nervous-sanguine temperament, agile, strong, robust, very colorful and having the instinct, rare in our time, for the material beauty of words)

<sup>162</sup> (It is wonderful how, burdened by useless elements (knick-knacks from the old house of romanticism brought to our new house, which he will sell to those fond of antiques) he is able to be spontaneous, vibrant, sincere and able to exactly mold to impression words directed at detailed analysis)

Sawa, on the other hand, counterattacked by defending the representation of reality as a chiaroscuro of the beautiful and the ugly, not a monochromatic tone. Contradictorily, he used idealist imagery such as “el aroma de los campos” to defend the inclusion of beauty in naturalist novels, which focused exclusively on disease and pessimism. Disease was symbolized by pus and disinfectants:

Esa sociedad que estudia López Bago en *La prostituta* y *La pálida* es fea, esencialmente fea, monstruosa, y huele más al pus y a los desinfectantes de las salas clínicas que al aroma de los campos y que al perfume indistinto de la verdadera belleza [...] El documento humano no es lo feo, no es sólo lo feo; es también lo bello, lo hermoso. ¿A qué copiar siempre lo feo? ¿Es, por ventura, el fin del arte la negación? ¡Ah! ¡En Francia se equivocan como se equivocan en España! La realidad no es lo feo. Es lo feo y lo bonito combinados. (Sawa, “Impresiones de un lector” 304-6)<sup>163</sup>

Eventually, Sawa’s “idealist-beautiful” tendencies won over his naturalist side. In the 1890s, tired of the Spanish atmosphere, he moved to Paris and became a decadent bohemian. Ironically, after linking everything sensual and depraved to Spain’s Arab heritage in *Crimen legal* in accordance with eugenic and anthropological theories on “lower races,” for the French he became a typical Spanish rebel, an exotic, folkloric type. After his return to Spain in the late 1890s, the magazine *Germinal* (1897) lamented this

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<sup>163</sup> (The society López Bago studies in *La prostituta* and *La pálida* is ugly, essentially ugly, monstrous, and smells more like pus and disinfectants of hospital rooms than the aroma of the countryside and the immaterial perfume of true beauty [...] The human document is not ugliness, not only what is ugly; it is also what is beautiful. Why the need of always copying what is ugly? Is it art’s finality, by chance, negation? Alas! In France they are wrong as they are in Spain! Reality is not ugliness. It is ugliness and beauty combined)

loss and praised his literary style as a reflection of his unique Arabic, very poetic and “very Spanish” character:

Naturalezas poderosísimas, reflejos del alma de la sublime España árabe, cuya poesía alumbró la noche oscura de la Europa cristiana de la Edad Media. Alejandro Sawa y Joaquín Dicenta son los jefes del naturalismo español [...] *Crimen legal* demuestra el vigor de la pluma de Sawa, *Declaración de un vencido* es el grito de desesperación del luchador que se asfixia, y *Noche* es el cuadro lúgubre de una sociedad sumergida en tinieblas seculares. Pero no es el naturalismo frío y duro de Emilio Zola; el alma profundamente poética española lo ha transformado comunicándole un perfume de poesía romántica que exhalan las canciones populares, las coplas admirables de las alegrías y dolores del pueblo. Sawa ha desmayado; desde hace años ya no trabaja, porque le falta el ambiente ideogéneo. Tal vez se reanime sintiendo la alborada de algo nuevo que limpie la atmósfera en que hoy se ahogan los que necesitan de ideales para vivir. (qtd. in Zavala 35-6)<sup>164</sup>

The tug of war between López Bago and Sawa on the appropriate way to depict reality is a good example of the heated debate on literary authority in Spain in the second half of the nineteenth century. This debate had a lot to do with national and gender

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<sup>164</sup> (Very powerful natures, reflections of the sublime, Arab Spain, whose poetry enlightened the dark night of Christian Europe during the Middle Ages. Alejandro Sawa and Joaquín Dicenta are the leaders of Spanish naturalism [...] *Crimen legal* demonstrates the vigor of Sawa’s pen, *Declaración de un vencido* is the desperate cry of a fighter who asphyxiates, and *Noche* is not, however, Emilio Zola’s cold and hard naturalism; the profoundly poetic Spanish soul has transformed Sawa communicating into him the perfume of romantic poetry exhaled by popular songs, the admirable songs of joy and pain of the people. Sawa has dismayed; he has not worked for years, because he is lacking the ideal atmosphere. Maybe he will be revived when he feels the dawn of something new which cleans the atmosphere in which those who need ideals to live suffocate)

identity, but also with personal success. Realists and naturalists set out to make a difference by championing a new, progressive literary style, deeply influenced by scientific and medical discoveries; a style more in accordance to the new times. This will for progress was contrasted against pervasive signs of Spanish backwardness, for example the spread of diseases such as cholera, syphilis and tuberculosis; social hypocrisy attributed to the middle class through consumerism and prostitution, now regulated hygienically by the state; the survival of Isabeline values such as the angel of the home, or the intromission of the state, the medical establishment and the Catholic Church in the lives of the population, thus curtailing freedom and privacy. This renovation aimed to position Spain, at least literarily, on the same level than other European countries. Unfortunately, the emphasis on science and reason, usually associated with maleness as tradition and religiousness was to femaleness, discredited previous and contemporary literature by women as sentimental and, therefore, “low quality.” Within the new literary canon, virtuous writers little by little lost the prestige they acquired in the 1850s and 1860s. On the other hand, women who experimented with the new naturalist trends such as Pardo Bazán were attacked by many of their male counterparts for dealing with topics considered unsuitable for decent ladies.

The same male authors who questioned traditional ideals such as the angelic model of femininity were, in this way, contributing to its subsistence and eliminating female literary competition. Radical naturalism was the movement which took the genre-gender separation to an extreme by depicting the male naturalist author as a soldier, a fighter, a courageous dissident and literary physician who dared to touch Spain’s sore spots. Any deviation from these tenets, as we have seen in Sawa’s case, was feminized and scorned.

About the figure of the male hygienist, self-depicted as a “savior of humanity,” mocking references in realist and naturalist novels shed light on the fact that, for the new generation of novelists, didactic genres such as the hygiene manual fell under the now negative category of idealist and moralist. The manual became a *hybrid* of the masculine qualities of a doctor and the feminine qualities of a virtuous writer. All in all, like Doctor Nieto in *Crimen legal*, hygienists were not courageous enough to take a clear stance against Spain’s ailments. Furthermore, the hygiene manual’s clichéd style embodied the cultural and social immobility after the failed 1868 revolution. Now the previous Isabeline collaboration between hygiene and the novel is severed.

The emancipating promises of radical naturalism, however, were not fulfilled in the case of women. Similarly to public and private hygiene manuals, these novels dealt with the consequences of ignorance in matters of health and cleanliness: the unhygienic living conditions in urban worker’s quarters, the spread of diseases such as syphilis, or the consequences of physical and economic excess, frequently related to sexuality. Radical naturalism dealt with the same topics as hygiene, and also presented itself as altruistic, socially committed literature, although radical naturalism supposedly used a truthful, non-moralistic discourse to attain its goal. A direct and crude style was portrayed by naturalists as the proof of their sincerity. However, hygiene manuals and radical naturalist novels shared the use of the female body as a tool for the male author to gain literary and scientific authority, which made both genres not truly liberating for women. Radical naturalists considered themselves literary “doctors” who truly possessed the tools to comprehend and control disease and, consequently, to steer women away from the reefs of their own nature.



### Chapter 3

#### **“Upright lemons:” early twentieth century hygiene manuals meet eroticism**

With the help of Felipe Trigo’s *El médico rural* (1912), in this chapter I draw connections between medicine, mercantilism and the hygiene manual. This relation was embodied by the hygiene-cosmetic manual’s erotic style and the titillating depiction of the “modern woman,” more specifically her breasts. I explore the protean nature of hygiene manuals, which in the nineteen teens and twenties adapted their content and style to exploit the craze for exoticism and the flamboyant display of female sexuality, but tried to retain hygiene’s traditional essence. To underscore the ambiguous and fictive nature of hygiene and the doctor, I compare the theatrical portrayal of physicians and the bodily display of female patients in *El médico rural* to Dr. Pablo Areny de Plandolit’s *Cultivo de la estética y belleza de la mujer* (1923).

Esas niñas de dudosa doncellez y amanerado talante, amagan desfigurar la raza.

Son en nuestras latitudes plantas exóticas detentadoras del legado racial.

Caricaturas vivientes de las mozas de fechas más próceres, destruyen honrosas tradiciones y poéticas leyendas. No me escandalizan. Me apenan. Cegar la fuente donde surgen sería redentora depuración de la raza, embellecimiento *de meiga terriña*. La única medicina contra el mal fundamental de la época, “la frivolidad,” antójaseme la cultura integral con baños largos y a altas temperaturas de

Humanidad. (Sánchez Otero, *Higiene corporal y moral de le mujer* 1927, 109)<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> All translation are my own, unless otherwise indicated.  
(Those young girls of dubious maidenhood and affected demeanor are threatening to disfigure the race. In our latitudes, they are exotic plants that unlawfully hold our racial legacy. Being caricatures of maidens of

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Nuestra época ha creado un ser híbrido; ni hombre ni mujer, ha adoptado lo malo de aquél y ha prescindido de lo bueno de ésta [...] La “mujer moderna” no tiene amigos en el sexo contrario, sino camaradas: salta de los tranvías en marcha; sube a los tranvías en marcha; fuma cigarrillos turcos; bebe cóckteles en un bar; lo lee “todo;” puede hablársele “de todo;” se sienta montando una pierna sobre otra; se pinta los labios en plena calle; “flirtea”... Un horror [...] A la “mujer moderna” nadie la respeta, y a nadie es simpática. (Chaseur Millarés, *El consejero de las señoritas: Guía práctica de la joven en sociedad* 1930, 31-2)<sup>166</sup>

Doctor Eliseo Sánchez Otero’s handbook *Higiene coporal y moral de la mujer* (1927) and Agustín Chaseur Millarés’s *El consejero de las señoritas* (1930) expressed very explicitly early twentieth century male anxieties about the emergence of a new female role model, the hybrid “modern” or “new” woman. This figure mixed masculine and feminine qualities in looks, attire and attitude in contrast to the nineteenth century “wholesome” model of bourgeois femininity, “the angel of the home.” Doctor Sánchez Otero considered new customs reflected by fashion, consumerism and women’s

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better times, they destroy honorable traditions and poetic legends. I am not shocked by them, I pity them. Walling up the source where they come from would be a redemptive depuration of the race, embellishing my homeland. I believe the only medicine against the most common disease at this time, “frivolity,” is integral culture with long, very hot baths of humanity)

<sup>166</sup> (Our time has created a hybrid being; neither man, nor woman, this being has adopted the worst qualities in man and has left aside the good qualities in women [...] “Modern women” don’t have friends of the opposite sex, but comrades: they jump off street cars; run after street cars; smoke Turkish cigarettes; drink cocktails in bars; read everything; can discuss everything; sit with their legs crossed; put on lip stick in the street; ‘flirt’... This is horrible [...] Nobody respects “modern women,” nobody likes them)

liberation in the nineteen twenties physically and morally unhygienic for the individual and for Spain's cultural heritage. For Sánchez Otero, the "modern woman" was the epitome of the materialism, selfishness and shallowness of the new times. Her crime was to care only for the fulfillment of individual desires and immediate pleasure, wasting frivolously her physical and mental energies and *doncelléz* (virginity) for no greater purpose. She did not care about creating a family or ensuring the prosperity of the nation by providing it with healthy, strong children. To express his nostalgia for the disappearance of traditional roles, he employed two words from his native Galicia, *meiga terriña* (my homeland) and the Castilian archaic colloquialism *mozas*, used to refer to young girls of age to marry.<sup>167</sup> The dichotomy "humanity" or "naturalness" against the "artificiality" and "indecentcy" acquired through new fashions and cosmetics was brandished against "modern women" by conservative doctors and priests alike by using the same nostalgic rhetoric. They considered modern women and their new attire and attitude an outrage to morality and to the beautiful, ancient, physically and morally healthy Spanish traditions, as well as a blow to national economy.<sup>168</sup> What lies behind

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<sup>167</sup> According to Geraldine Scanlon and Beatriz Celaya Carrillo, the view of traditional female roles as disappearing in twentieth century Spain was an exaggeration which sprang from the fear of women's liberation movements in foreign countries. From 1900 until 1931 feminism in Spain was more debated than implemented and lacked political organization and followers. In the nineteen twenties, the movement started to consolidate thanks to socialist writer Carmen de Burgos, socialist activist Margarita Nelken, republican Clara Campoamor and anarchist Federica Montseny among others. These activists were pivotal in the achievement of some of the major goals regarding women's rights such as suffrage, the legalization of divorce, and the legalization of contraceptives and abortion during the Second Republic and the first months of the Spanish Civil War (Celaya Carrión 43-44; Scanlon 195-7). In the twenties, conservatives such as Dr. Sánchez Otero constituted themselves into the first line of defense to keep Spain unchanged at all cost.

<sup>168</sup> Cardinal Isidro Gomá y Tomás in 1915 *Las modas y el lujo ante la ley cristiana, la sociedad y el arte* (*Fashion and luxury under Christian law, society and art*) poetically but firmly reproached women that las modas os han casi impuesto, señoras, la vida callejera y de exhibición, mal desconocido de la recatada y hacendosa mujer española [...]. Españolas, no faltan gusto y arte y modelos en la moda nacional para vestiros como conviene a las condiciones de nuestra raza, de nuestras virtudes, de nuestro cielo. Sacudid el yugo de las modas exóticas. (59- 60, 247)

these admonitions is the fact that elaborate, foreign garments and toilette, in contrast to the purported pious simplicity of Spanish women, were perceived as the gate to women's emancipation. Thus, Dr. Sánchez Otero counterattacked by recommending young ladies a hygienic long, "hot bath" of humanity against the pollution of materialism.

Similarly, Chasseur Millarés warned young ladies about the physical and moral ugliness of newly gained female mobility in the public sphere. Images of female agility conveying female independence, now enhanced by prêt-à porter fashion, were presented as the antithesis of femininity: exercise and sports (women who jump and get off running street cars); flirtation and cosmetics (women who cross their legs or put on make up in public); female education (women who read everything and can discuss any topic), and foreign customs as seen in the popular media such as film (smoking Turkish cigarettes, going to bars and drinking cocktails). To discourage Spanish young girls from following this model, the author affirmed that "modern women" seemed attractive but they were not truly respected, liked and, most importantly, not chosen by men to be their wives. He was quick to assure the young girl that men always picked a chaste, traditionally oriented woman (32). In this way, the fear of spinsterhood was used as a strategy to preserve the nineteenth century angelic model of femininity, in which virtue amounted to asexuality, passivity and physical and intellectual modesty.

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(fashion has imposed on you, ladies, street life and exhibition, an unknown evil for the modest and hard working Spanish woman [...] who has always known how to make of a Spanish home, big or small, poor or sumptuous, a school for respect and almost a temple where the love for the living and the pious memory of the ancestors has been kept, the soft fragrance of those traditions which enliven humankind, outstanding and beautiful traditions [...]. Spanish ladies, in national fashion there is enough taste and art to dress as it is convenient for our race, our virtues and our skies. Shake off the yoke of exotic fashion)

These two manual authors are good examples of how conservative hygiene and conduct literature dealt with the threat of cultural change in early twentieth century Spain. On the one hand, hygiene and conduct literature negotiated with bourgeois female mobility, an unstoppable consequence of industrialization, the economic crisis during and after First World War, and the power of the popular media. Chasseur Millarés was in favor of female work as long as it was an absolute necessity and a way to help others, for example women's country and family. Labor should not be a source of income para vestir con más lujo [...] para tener más sombreros, más trajes y más zapatitos" for "[el trabajo femenino] es, además un crimen, puesto que [la mujer] muchas veces ocupa el empleo que un padre de familia necesita para dar pan a sus hijos"(32).<sup>169</sup> Together with blunt threat, this typical strategy served to adjust the angelic model to the new times in order to make it more attractive to the young girl, while still preserving its essence.<sup>170</sup>

On the other hand, prescriptive literature presented the home as woman's natural place, and used nostalgic discourse to romanticize the Spain of old times, advocate the integrity of the family as the fabric of society, and depict women as its centerpiece. At this time, more drama and urgency was added to the organicist, nineteenth century discourse by including the notion of "racial" and spiritual degeneration to refer to Spain and Spaniards, a leitmotiv which sprung from colonial loss and industrial and commercial materialism. The strong metaphorical ties of colonialism with family, heredity and race, (Spain's passing of racial and cultural-spiritual characters from the metropolis to her

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<sup>169</sup> (to dress more luxuriously [...] to have more hats, more dresses and cute shoes) (furthermore [female work] is a crime, for many times women occupy the position of a father who needs it to feed his children)

<sup>170</sup> During Francisco Franco's dictatorship, female work was presented in conduct manuals such the Father Enciso Viana's *Muchacha* collection as a temporary measure to bring the country back to its feet, once more, a highest purpose than "frivolous" personal fulfillment.

colonial “children”) made the loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Phillipines in 1898 to be worded in degenerative terms by conservative *noventayochistas* such as Ángel Ganivet.<sup>171</sup> In *Idearium español* (1898), Ganivet interpreted the colonial defeat in sexual terms, as a warning sign of the debilitation of the Spanish race. He identified Spain with a woman whose “virginity” or traditional spirit and her psychic energy or “mother force” had succumbed to the economic and cultural “over-stimulation” and “rape” of foreign materialism (Aronna 49, 60). Similarly, Dr. Sánchez Otero’s linked woman’s body and spirit to national well-being by using a botanical metaphor to refer to “modern women” as exotic plants which contaminated Spain’s genetic and spiritual soil. The unhygienic, immoderate behavior of these women was presented as the agent of transmission of debilitated seed or genes. Like Ganivet, early twentieth century hygienist doctors presented themselves as the experts able to diagnose and cure Spain’s body and spirit.

While *noventayochistas* such as Unamuno and Azorín prescribed openness to foreign influence as a way to dissipate Spain’s post-war stupor, conservative doctors and priests were quick to appropriate conservative *noventayochista* discourse to blame Spain’s racial and cultural debility on foreign influence, women and effeminate.<sup>172</sup> The new woman’s sexual transgressions were presented not only as a distasteful consequence of modernity,

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<sup>171</sup>The *noventayochistas* were a group of philosophers and writers concerned with the “Spanish problem” at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century. Like doctors or psychologists, they used literary introspection and “dissection” to analyze Spain’s past, landscape and customs so as to discern her character and find a solution to the economic, political and, above all, spiritual crisis. Some of them were Miguel de Unamuno, José Martínez Ruiz “Azorín,” Valle-Inclán, Ortega y Gasset, Ángel Ganivet and Ramiro de Maeztu.

<sup>172</sup>Together with dissolute women, the “fighters” against degeneration blame the effeminate modernists and decadentists of corrupting Spanish mores by indulging in the cult of the body and beauty, the “over-stimulation” of the senses Ganivet so much abhorred. These artists and writers moved away from any political or social involvement to pursue beauty and exoticism, or subvert the conservative discourse on degeneration to break away from bourgeois mediocrity. One of the most hated “effeminate,” decadentist Antonio de Hoyos y Vinent, emphasized the potential for pleasure of sadism, masochism, bestialism, rape or homosexuality in *El pecado y la noche* (*Sin and the night*, 1913).

but a symptom of this spiritual disease which eventually would reflect on the body and on descendants. Drinking, smoking, using cosmetics and provocative clothing, promiscuity, unfruitful intercourse, all in all, female frivolity, were counteracted by hygienists with the warning against physical and mental disease or loss of social face in Chaseur Millarés's case. Cancer, even death were portrayed as the consequences of women's self-indulgence to ignore the "call of nature" of biological maternity:

1. Toda mujer normal y sana que no es fecundada antes de los 25 años, está expuesta a desórdenes funcionales y anatómicos de su aparato genital.
2. Toda mujer, a fin de evitar la enfermedad más frecuente de las que puede padecer –el fibroma-, debe cumplir, al minumum [sic], de cuatro a seis funciones de reproducción completas: gestación y lactancia normales. (Sánchez Otero 39)<sup>173</sup>

Obviously, after having four to six children to care for at home, it would be quite difficult for any woman to have any aspirations in the public sphere. While in countries involved in the First World War, such as England and the United States, women's work effort was recognized and more liberties for women ensued, in the case of neutral Spain civil rights like female suffrage were not be granted until the nineteen thirties and the Second Republic. In the meantime, conservatives like Dr.Sánchez Otero did their best to empower themselves and eliminate the possibility of female competition, embodied by the dazzling portrayals of strong female characters in foreign movies, magazines and new "liberating" fashion trends. Some examples are the androgynous "tube shaped dress" of

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<sup>173</sup> (1. Every normal and healthy woman who is not impregnated before turning 25, is exposed to functional and anatomical genital disorders. 2. Every woman, in order to avoid the most frequent disease in women, fibroma, must fulfill, minimum, from four to six full reproductive cycles: pregnancy and normal breast-feeding)

the dancing-crazy flapper, comfortable boyish hair cuts, and the elimination of the oppressing corset for the softer girdle and bra (Litvak, *Antología de la novela corta* 41-42; Riordan 183).

In contrast to this conservative point of view, erotic literature from the nineteen teens and twenties fully embraced the “new Eve” and exploited her for titillating purposes.<sup>174</sup> She was a focal element in film and magazines, a figure which enticed the audience with contradictory old and new stereotypes about women: women’s infantilism but sexual precocity; their oversexed *femme fatale* feline sexuality, conveyed by the use of exotic jewelry, furs and heavy make up, together with sexual ambiguity acquired through androgynous fashion; new standards of physical beauty such as slim, athletic, agile bodies together with curvaceous oriental women depicted in silent films; beauty on blatant display, like in the case of short skirts, or forbidden voluptuousness veiled as in an oriental harem (Litvak, *Antología de la novela corta* 40; *El sendero del tigre* 87).

Maybe as an escapist approach to the economic and social tensions resulting from the colonial war in Morocco, Spanish erotic literature embraced frivolity and exploited a revived scientific interest in sexuality in the first two decades of the twentieth century. This interest was fueled in Spain by Freud’s newly translated theories, which emphasized the concept of sexual repression and, from the point of view of erotic writers, favored that of sexual experimentation (Litvak, *Antología de la novela corta* 61). The studies on sex and gender by renowned Spanish doctors such as Gregorio Marañón (1887-1960) were

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<sup>174</sup> Some examples of best-selling erotic magazines and short story collections are Eduardo Zamacois’ picaresque weekly *Vida Galante* or *El cuento semanal* (1907-1912), Artemio Precioso’s *La novela de noche* (1924-6), *La vida* (1923); the more explicit, even pornographic *Colección Afrodita* (1919-21), *Colección Voluptuosa* (1921), *La novela sugestiva* (1925-8), *Colección Safo* and *Fornarina* (1930-3), *La novela del amor* (1932) (Litvak, *Antología de la novela corta* 46, 55).



also fundamental for this shift in perspective.<sup>175</sup> Unlike the late nineteenth century's interest in sex as pathology, as in the case of venereal disease and prostitution, in the nineteen teens and twenties there was an open, public debate on the sexuality of young, respectable, middle class women. The topic of female sexuality became "central, público, y lo que es aún más importante: legítimo" (Litvak, *Antología de la novela corta* 43). This shift gave a new meaning to being "modern" and scientifically up-to-date: sexuality and the body were to be embraced as natural and enjoyable, an idea which erotic short novels exploited fruitfully by presenting women as sexually "liberated," earthly and enticing beings ready to fulfill man's every desire without angelic prudishness. Despite this liberal approach (probably to balance this approach in an eminently Catholic country) women's sexual drive was acknowledged, but their satisfaction was made dependent on reproduction and heterosexual relationships:

El discurso dominante en torno al deseo erótico en las primeras décadas del siglo prometió a la mujer la plenitud vital a través de la relación heterosexual, en tanto ella mantuviera un rol pasivo en relación al hombre. El propósito era garantizar que los posibles cambios en los roles femeninos de género,

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<sup>175</sup>Endocrinologist Dr. Gregorio Marañón was the most famous advocate of the *teoría de la diferencia* between the sexes, outlined in essays such as *Tres ensayos sobre la vida sexual. Sexo, trabajo y deporte. Maternidad y feminismo. Educación sexual y diferenciación sexual*. If in the nineteenth century woman was considered physically and intellectually inferior to man, but social changes brought about by crises such as the First World War invalidated these scientific theories. As a consequence, science adapted to accept woman as not inferior but different, a complement to man. The different under workings of man and woman's metabolism (woman's tendency to preserve energy and man's tendency to waste it) or cell biology (active sperm versus passive egg) at this moment became the scientific evidence used to perpetuate woman's natural role as a mother (Marañón 80-2). Marañón also used "elevated language" to reaffirm woman's role and considered woman's transcendental destiny to make Man the "father of History" (Marañón 160). Women who did not conform to this "destiny" were considered hermaphrodites or viragoes, "espantajos sexuales" (sexual frights) a danger to the proper evolution of humanity (Scanlon 185).

provocados por el relativo aumento en la autonomía de la mujer no anularan la relación jerárquica entre hombres y mujeres. (Celaya Carrillo 7)<sup>176</sup>

Somewhere in between openly misogynous, ideologically charged literature with a national agenda such as that of Dr. Sánchez Otero, and works for mere enjoyment such as the erotic short novels of the nineteen twenties, we find *hybrid* works such as Felipe Trigo's *El médico rural* (1912) and the hygiene-cosmetic manual.<sup>177</sup> Popular literature such as the hygiene-cosmetic manual influenced and was influenced by the erotic atmosphere of the early twentieth century, and contributed to shape females into a new beauty standard while trying to preserve a traditional essence. In this way, hygienists-cosmetologists like Dr. Areny de Plandolit in *Cultivo de la estética y belleza de la mujer* (1923) used a combination of medical-technological and erotic discourses to take advantage of the public interest in sexuality and eroticism. This strategy could amount to a rise in readership, while, at the same time, condemning certain erotic practices in the name of hygiene and health preserved the hygienist's authority as a scientific, reliable guide.

The ambiguous connection between medicine and eroticism is best expressed through female fashion and toiletry in *El médico rural* (1912) by novelist and doctor Felipe Trigo (1864-1916), first a naturalist, later a milder precursor of Spanish blatantly erotic

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<sup>176</sup> (In the first decades of the century, the dominant discourse on erotic desire promised women a fulfilled life through heterosexual relationships as long as she maintained a passive role in relation to man. The goal was to guarantee that possible changes in gender roles, caused by the relative increase of women's autonomy, did not eliminate the hierarchical relationship between men and women)

<sup>177</sup> Some of Felipe Trigo's most famous novels are *Las ingenuas* (1901), *La sed de amar* (1901-3), *Alma en los labios* (1903-5), *En la carrera*, the prequel to *El médico rural* (1906), *La bruta* (1907), *Sor Demonio* (1908), *La clave* (1909-1910), *Los abismos* (1913), *Jarrapellejos* (1914), *Sí se por qué* (1915).

literature of the nineteen twenties and thirties (Litvak, *La antología de la novela* 56).<sup>178</sup>

Through content and style Trigo intended to destabilize traditional categories and harmonize ornament and simplicity or “Arte (literario) y Ciencia [...] la fusión de contrarios (espíritu/carne, razón/emoción, paganismo/cristianismo, etc)” (Martínez San Martín 134, 208).<sup>179</sup> In accordance to Trigo’s mixture of seeming opposite concepts, *El médico rural* merges the practice of medicine with sexuality to materialize the male fascination, inferiority complex and fear of the sexually empowered “new woman.” Furthermore, the novel gives the reader valuable insights on bourgeois double standards and the ambiguous role of doctors as “saviors” and “guides” but also marketing experts. In *El médico rural* medicine becomes a theatrical performance, a device used by doctors to gain trust and clientele which is not so different from the world of female fashion and cosmetics.

Already in the eighteen fifties and eighteen sixties, pioneer manual author Pedro Felipe Monlau was aware of the erotic potential of the hygiene manual, what made him eliminate explicit illustrations and watch his language to prevent erotic titillation. In the eighteen eighties and nineties, the relationship between medicine and eroticism surfaced with radical naturalism. Eduardo López Bago and Alejandro Sawa’s medical-literary depiction of excessive sexuality, as in the case of prostitution, created an unsettling contrast between extremely enticing images of women and sexuality and their

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<sup>178</sup> Contrary to Litvak’s views, Ángel Martínez San Martín considers Trigo a *postnaturalist*. Trigo’s novels, similarly to realism and naturalism in the nineteenth century, reported social problems and spurred national debate. However, according to Martínez San Martín Trigo’s style was eclectic and shed the realist and naturalist obsession with detailed description to focus on suggesting more than laying out actions, atmospheres and characters. Introspection, an “interior view” of the characters, and subjective narrators were also common in Trigo’s narrative, thus deviating from naturalist tenets (*La narrativa de Felipe Trigo* 152-3).

<sup>179</sup> (Literary Art and Science [...] the fusion of opposites such as spirit/flesh, reason/emotion, paganism/Christianity, etc)

pathologization through the threat of venereal contagion. What first aroused the reader, later was to neutralize his or her desire. However, the purported cathartic and regenerative power of these topics and descriptions did not make López Bago and Sawa famous and widely read, but scandal and morbidity. In this way, radical naturalists were the precursors of twentieth century erotic writers who would finally shed any regenerative intentions in the luscious descriptions of sexuality to focus on its mere pleasurable aspects.

In the early twentieth century the mixture of medicine and eroticism was epitomized by *cosmetology*, a discipline which at this moment was trying to legitimate itself as a science, and had evolved from a branch of hygiene of the same name. *Private hygiene* was divided in *atmospherology*, dealing with the individual's surroundings such as air and habitation; *bromatology*, about the elements which enter the body, such as food and drink; *gimnastica*, on the influence of exercise and repose; *perceptology*, on the influence of sensation and perception on the individual, and *cosmética* (Monlau, *Higiene privada* 6). In private hygiene *cosmetology* had to do with cleanliness and the influence of materials applied over the body on secretion and excretion. Clothing, water and soap were seen under the scope of regulation of body heat, creating a barrier against dirt and contagion, favoring the normal development of the body, eliminating fatigue, and reflecting virtue through cleanliness. In this way, personal decorum was said to spring out of respect for others (*Elementos de higiene privada* 6, 77).<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> In the fourth edition of Monlau's *Elementos de higiene privada o arte de conservar la salud del individuo* (1875).

At this early stage, *cosmetology* closely related dress and cleanliness to health, the physiological needs of the individual and morals. Any other function of dress, water and cosmetic products was considered unnecessarily sensuous, frivolous, superfluous, ineffective, even noxious.<sup>181</sup> Beyond the hygienists' concern about female health, doctors in reality attempted to preserve bourgeois sexual and monetary economy: cosmetics were noxious for the soul and the pocket, for women were wasting money and precious time to no avail, besides endangering their health. Furthermore, in the 1850s and 1860s hygienists considered cosmetics "hellish products," sexual lures and "tricks" used by fallen, sexually aberrant women such as the prostitute and actress to acquire the worth they did not possess (Monlau, *Elementos de higiene privada* 115-6). Cleanliness achieved by mere water and soap, on the other hand, became symbolic for female simplicity, modesty and chastity.

In contrast to the mid nineteenth century devaluing of cosmetics, there was a change of perspective about beauty, cosmetics and related activities such as chiropody, massage and manicure as the end of the nineteenth century approached. If the exclusive focus of traditional *cosmetology* was the practical, health-related aspects of dress and cleanliness, in the eighteen eighties we find hygiene manuals which redefined the old limits of cosmetology to allow room for beauty, its enhancement and preservation. Doctor J.M. Nácar's *Hygienic-Cosmetic Guide of Woman in the Boudoir* intended to widespread the

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<sup>181</sup> Such was the case of the corset and high heels, which deformed the female torso and feet, or poisonous components of facial make up such as lead or arsenic. See figure 4 for Monlau's illustrations of the deformities caused by the corset. Unlike Dr. Flatau, Monlau does not use a female figure to illustrate but merely the ribcage.

rational use of cosmetics with the help of a doctor.<sup>182</sup> The use of cosmetics by prescription became a legitimate, hygienic “science” whose intention was to “conservar, vigorizar y restablecer la belleza física sin perjudicar la salud y el mérito natural de aquella; es decir, hacer de la mujer un ser lo más perfecto y agradable bajo el doble punto de vista estético y anatómico-fisiológico” (21).<sup>183</sup> Doctor Nácar’s manual was presented as a “guía fiel y autorizada a la mujer en la práctica del tocador” (v), which based its formulas and advice on impartial experimentation and reason. *Cosmetology* was praised as a “science” which rightfully tried to become independent from the *ciencia madre* of hygiene in order to exclusively focus on the “scientific” care of female beauty:

La cosmetología es, como queda dicho, la rama de la higiene privada que más importancia tiene, para la mujer especialmente, y bien merece por sus nobles, saludables y extensos fines, constituirse independientemente de la ciencia madre, para que figure en el tocador de todas las damas, y sea por ellas consultada a menudo [...] Considerando, por otra parte, al arte del tocador complemento indispensable de aquella y altamente provechoso por su objeto y fundamento, [los higienistas] se apresuraron a presentarle, no como un arte hijo de la vanidad y presunción, sino como nacido de una necesidad natural y

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<sup>182</sup> Doctor Nácar was introduced on the cover of his manual as “medico higienista, director del *Instituto Cosmetológico Español*, fundador y ex-director de *La gaceta de sanidad civil*, y de *La higiene del bello sexo*.”

<sup>183</sup> (preserve, invigorate and recover physical beauty without endangering health and beauty’s natural merit; that is to say, to turn woman into a most perfect and agreeable being from the point of view of anatomy and physiology)

legítima, digno, por consiguiente, de formales estudios y de serias observaciones. (20-1)<sup>184</sup>

To eliminate any trace of frivolity, the new *cosmetology* emphasized the idea of female beauty as a natural merit. The desire to be beautiful or preserve beauty was presented as something intrinsic in women, and beauty was considered to be women's most valuable attribute in society:

Siendo la hermosura la prenda más estimable de la mujer, creo prestar al bello sexo en general un humanitario e importante servicio, instruyéndole en la manera de conservar y restablecer tan precioso don e ilustrándole en las frecuentes dudas que en la práctica del tocador se presentan. Si consigo de las damas españolas, cuya reputación de hermosas es tan universal como merecida, convencerlas a la verdad, único lema de la higiene cosmetológica, me daré por muy satisfecho [...]. (vii- viii)<sup>185</sup>

This strategy intended to make of the hygienist and the manual something indispensable in women's lives, even a matter of national pride for it was a way of preserving the beauty of Spanish women which, in Nácar's words, was "famous world-wide." Besides this clever marketing strategy, the strategy of subordinating the use of cosmetics to the

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<sup>184</sup> (Cosmetology is the most important branch of private hygiene, especially for women, and it deserves to constitute itself as independent of the mother science of hygiene due to its noble, healthy and extensive purpose, so that it is present in the boudoir of all ladies and is consulted often [...]. On the other hand, considering the art of the boudoir women's indispensable complement, and highly profitable for them due to its purpose and mission, [hygienists] rushed to present it as an art which was not born of vanity and conceit, but of a natural and legitimate necessity, therefore worthy of formal study and serious observation)

<sup>185</sup> (Being beauty the most esteemed quality in women, I believe that I am providing them with a humanitarian and important service by instructing them in the way to preserve and recover such a precious gift, and enlightening them in the frequent questions that the boudoir poses. If I manage to convince Spanish women, whose reputation of beauty is as universal as well deserved, of the truth, the only motto of cosmetologic hygiene, I will be very satisfied)

doctor's approval opened a very profitable market for hygienists. They contrasted their reliable expertise to that of foreign impostors and their own recipes from the apothecary to dangerous products and chemicals from "la nauseabunda trastienda de algún droguero parisiense, o el pretendido laboratorio de cualquier charlatán afortunado" (15).<sup>186</sup>

Furthermore, Nácar affirms that, in contrast to some French hygienists who focus on praising beauty to gain clientele, his manual is dedicated exclusively to inculcate the beneficial effect of hygiene and cosmetic care on women's health and beauty:

Algunos higienistas franceses se han propuesto en ellos [tratados populares] halagar la vanidad femenina, tan propensa a acoger todo cuanto se ofrece en su favor, que a encaminar y reprimir sus impulsos naturales, conciliando lo que imperiosamente exige la necesidad, con lo que conviene higiénicamente al individuo. (21)<sup>187</sup>

Lengthy paragraphs praising women's perfection and sublime beauty are also widely used to support Nácar's claim of *cosmetology* as an essential science in women's lives, so important that it must constitute a science on its own. All these strategies confirm that late nineteenth century hygienists decided to make peace with the "enemy" of cosmetics and, on the way, make some profit.

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<sup>186</sup> (the nauseating back room of any Paris drugstore, or the feigned laboratory of a lucky charlatan)  
Dr. Nácar's recipes were detailed lists of mixtures, essences, and extracts of mainly natural ingredients such as herbs, nuts, fruits, flowers and spices (orange blossom, almonds, cinnamon, amber, musk, cocoa butter, eggs, laurel, starch, vinegar, lily, geranium, clover) carefully measured for the female reader to take to an apothecary. These prescriptions were always accompanied by a description of each beauty ailment or defect to be corrected for example, warts, hair loss, flaccidity and many more.

<sup>187</sup> (Some French hygienists are determined to flatter women's vanity [in popular treatises], since women are prone to accept everything that is said in their favor, instead of channeling and repress their natural instincts, instead of bringing together what is imperative and necessary with what is hygienically convenient to the individual)



In early twentieth century, the fruitful relationship between Spanish hygiene and the boudoir was consolidated. Much to Dr. Sánchez Otero's regret, this new tendency in hygiene literature was fostered by the fashion of exoticism in art, literature and the popular media, which Lily Litvak considers a reaction to a modern, industrialized and materialistic world by advocating a return to nature, creative fantasy and spiritualism (*El sendero del tigre* 22-3).<sup>188</sup> The old nineteenth century depiction of women's body as Godly, uncannily beautiful and interesting but frail, took on a new shape with the turn of the century. At this moment the ideas of frailty and inferiority were shed from these descriptions to embrace difference between men and women; even the possibility of women's physical strength with the appropriate training.

While in the past moderate exercise had been prescribed by hygienists to counteract women's weak nature, now more demanding sports were endorsed as a way to cultivate the female body. Tennis, swimming and dancing were considered the most complete for the development of women's bodies, their elegance and grace. For the first time hygiene linked the idea of boldness, courage, physical strength and ability to women:

Los deportes y la cultura física están de moda; hoy se experimenta la necesidad de moverse y con razón. Las artistas que se dedican al cine impresionan con frecuencia films que las obligan a entregarse a acrobatismos peligrosos, a ejercicios en que el fuego y el agua desempeñan un papel principal; es preciso, pues, que estén entrenadas. Nosotros que las vemos agitarse, queremos

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<sup>188</sup> Similarly, "new age" movements related to anarchism such as naturism, vegetarianism, and nudism rejected capitalism and advocated a return to nature as a way to regenerate Spanish society by changing existing hypocritical morals. They sublimated the body in contrast to its demonization by Catholicism, and claimed that "natural living cures all illness" (Cleminson 165-8).

alentarlas y fijar su atención en los beneficios de los deportes y de la higiene deportiva. La equitación, la natación, el remo, la carrera, la gimnasia, la danza, el golf, el tenis, el fútbol, la esgrima...despiertan un mundo de actividades maravillosas. Estos deportes que obligan a un entrenamiento metódico deben concurrir a estos tres objetivos: la habilidad, el hábito y el valor. (Vaucaire, 307)<sup>189</sup>

The influence of film and fashion was pivotal in spreading the urgency to cultivate the body: sheer fabrics, shorter sleeves, necklines and skirts forced women to depilate and shape up with exercise, massage and lotions what before had been hidden, restrained and supported by the corset (Riordan 189). Regarding film, actresses became physical models for their female spectators, who could attain their idols' beauty with discipline and cosmetic care. Once more, the male experts became the ones to provide women with these appropriate tools.

These are examples of how hygiene dialogued with its social context and adapted to fit new expectations from its readers. Holding on to the old hygienic maxim of exercise, fresh air and cleanliness, and the idea of being agreeable as a natural instinct and a virtue in women, Spanish *hygienists-cosmetologists* joined the orientalist craze to take advantage of the economic aspects of physical culture. This was a very profitable market, the cosmetic industry being the fourth most profitable business after automobiles, the

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<sup>189</sup> This is an excerpt from the Spanish translation of French hygiene manual *Consejos íntimos de mi médico, Doctor René Vaucaire. La mujer. Su salud, su higiene, su belleza* (1929). (Sports and physical culture are in style; now there is a rightful necessity to move. Movie artists frequently act in films which force them to submit to dangerous acrobatics, exercises in which fire and water play a main role; therefore, it is necessary for them to train. When we see them wave, we want to encourage them and call their attention to the benefits of sports and sports hygiene. Equitation, swimming, rowing, running, gymnastics, dance, golf, tennis, football, fencing... all of these sports represent a fascinating world of marvelous activities. These sports which require methodical training must concur in these three objectives: ability, habit and courage)

film industry and spirits in early twentieth century (Litvak *Antología de la novela* 37-8). Unlike old-style hygiene manuals, hygiene-cosmetic literature exploited eroticism and used explicit illustrations of the naked female body while also trying to legitimate itself as a “scientific” and serious discipline. The result was an awkward and ambivalent approach to physical culture and female beautification.<sup>190</sup>

A good example is *Cultivo de la estética y belleza de la mujer* (1923) by Dr. Pablo Areny de Plandolit’s, who represented an interesting mixture of a traditional doctor (profesor de anatomía y disección) and a natural historian.<sup>191</sup> On its cover, this manual was recommended to female masseuses, manicurists and chiropodists, professions for which Dr. Areny affirmed there were no formal degrees. Accordingly, the manual would complete these workers’ training with professional knowledge of the medical and technological bases of *cosmetology*: a basic knowledge of physiology, the use of electricity and massage for the enlargement and toning of the breasts and depilation, etc. Although female work was acknowledged, the male expert still provided the “unexperienced” female with the necessary tools to obtain safe and effective cosmetologic results.

Despite Dr. Areny’s purported professionalism, this hygienist-cosmetologist shared with his nineteenth century counterparts the use of literary devices to convey his personal view of the ideal female beauty and conduct. Although Dr. Areny at times departed from hygiene tradition to favor a shift towards progressiveness, he also tried to give

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<sup>190</sup> These newly created ties with the orientalist “new age” movements caused renowned experts such as Gregorio Marañón to devalue hygienists as pseudoscientific “espiritistas” (*Tres ensayos sobre la vida sexual* 79)

<sup>191</sup> In 1911 Dr. Areny de Plandolit appeared in the list of member of Zaragoza’s *Real Academia de Medicina* and the *Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* as a medical doctor, “naturalista preparador” (taxidermist) and expert in preparing botanical and anatomical models. *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* (CSIC) <[http://bibdigital.rjb.csic.es/Imagenes/P0019\\_16/P0019\\_16\\_009.pdf](http://bibdigital.rjb.csic.es/Imagenes/P0019_16/P0019_16_009.pdf)>.

seriousness and transcendence to his work by keeping handy a discursive reminiscence of the angel at delicate moments within the text. That was the case in the section on the beauty and care of the breasts.

Dr. Areny broke the female body down to each of its parts to present them in their best and worst conditions, prescribing a course of action to correct any defects, for example the use of pomades, lotions, massage or electricity. Unlike nineteenth century authors, who focused on creating the fiction of the physically and morally perfect angelic woman, Dr. Areny was quick to affirm that ideal female beauty “no existe; por eso los pintores y escultores para componer una figura ideal, necesitan utilizar modelos distintos para reunir en un conjunto la perfección que aporte cada uno formando un todo perfecto según las reglas del arte y la estética” (15).<sup>192</sup> Due to this impossibility, while traditional hygienists used the stigma of social scorn to condemn elaborate cosmetics, Dr. Areny even approved of artificial beauty as “seductora.” If necessary, he sanctioned more drastic measures from a traditional standpoint to achieve a desired beauty standard, such as mild electric shocks (7). Massage was also legitimized medically as an effective method to achieve a desired body shape or firmness, in contrast to its discredit in the nineteenth century as a foreign, accessory and sensuous treatment.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> ([ideal female beauty]does not exist; that is why painters and sculptors, in order to compose an ideal figure, need to use different models to put together as a whole the perfection of each part in accordance with artistic and aesthetic rules)

<sup>193</sup> Monlau, for example, considered massage:

desconocido entre nosotros [...] más no obstante los maravillosos efectos que se atribuyen al masaje, y que se pueden obtener en gran parte por medio del ejercicio, creemos que el hombre sano, tal como lo considera la higiene, ninguna necesidad tiene de tal práctica accesoria, y casi puramente voluptuosa. (*Elementos de higiene privada* 90-1)

(unknown to us [...] despite the wonderful effects attributed to massage, which can be mostly obtained with exercise, we believe that for a healthy individual, from hygiene’s point of view, there is not the need for this accessory practice, which is purely voluptuous)

More on the hygiene tradition, Dr. Areny also included a chapter on the “psychology, physiology, aesthetics and beauty of women,” linking physical beauty to female psychology. Thus, Dr. Areny envisioned woman as dependent on others, a being who longed to be agreeable and adored, “así como el niño desea su juguete, ella quiere ser siempre bella.”<sup>194</sup> Woman was nervous and irritable due to her reproductive system: “sus accidentes genésicos la absorben, perturbando su mentalidad” (15).<sup>195</sup> Very interestingly, after reproducing the typical nineteenth century hygiene discourse on women’s frailty, Dr. Areny considered this debility superficial, hiding women’s true strength: “su debilidad a menudo es aparente: su sistema nervioso le da una fuerza de resistencia que sorprende” (15).<sup>196</sup> In this way, traditional manual discourse was somewhat changing to allow for stronger and “playful” females, more in accordance with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries’ eroticized model of woman, who was in control of her beauty and used it like a child used a toy.

There was also a shift in the purpose of female beautification. Nineteenth century manuals put emphasis on female beauty as linked to angelic virtue, a tender, self-abnegated nature which inspired or elevated man from his daily struggle in the public sphere: “La mujer fue formada por Dios para que fuese el bello y perpetuo estímulo del hombre en la accidentada y penosa carrera de aspiraciones y zozobras que desde la cuna hasta el sepulcro obstinadamente le persiguen” (Nácar 18).<sup>197</sup> Although beauty was still presented as women’s most important quality in *Cultivo de la estética de la mujer*, Dr.

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<sup>194</sup> (in the same way that a little child wants a toy, she wants to be forever beautiful)

<sup>195</sup> (her reproductive instincts absorb her, disturbing her mentality)

<sup>196</sup> (her weakness is frequently seeming: her nervous system gives an amazing strength and resistance)

<sup>197</sup> (Woman is formed by God to be men’s perpetual and beautiful incentive in the pitiful and troubled race of life, dull of aspirations and worries, worries which stubbornly chase him from the cradle to the grave [...]. Sweetness, love, abnegation and all noble passions, tender and generous feelings must constantly reign in the woman’s soul as the most sublime adornment of her physical beauty)

Areny allowed for certain female empowerment through her physical beauty, although this power was always based on women's heterosexual relationship with males.

Woman was not frail any more, but it was man who was at woman's mercy when he was around her beauty. This representation also gave the female reader a good reason to follow the doctor's cosmetic advice if she wanted to "catch a man:" around beautiful women, men became like insects flying around a flame, the obsessed "prey" of the "magnetic pole" of female beauty.<sup>198</sup> Man here became dependent on and revolving around woman and, consequently, capable of the worst actions for her:

La mujer representa en la vida la visión de gracia que obsesiona  
constantemente el cerebro del hombre: por ella y para ella vive, por ella realiza  
el hombre las acciones más nobles y las más ruines: ella es el eje, el polo  
imantado alrededor del cual se agrupan todas las aspiraciones funestas y  
meritorias; su papel en la vida es por eso preponderante y de ahí que debe  
buscar por todos los medios conservar sus encantos naturales, los éxitos que su  
belleza le aseguran. (14)<sup>199</sup>

The turn from nineteenth century angelic, passive women to women's potential exploitation of their physicality was, nevertheless, best expressed through the description

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<sup>198</sup> According to *All made up*, a study by the Library of Historic Advertising at Middlesex University, typical themes revolving around cosmetic advertising throughout the twentieth century were the following: older women who could look younger and more beautiful if they used a particular cosmetic brand; the emphasis on the more affordability of cosmetics at the beginning of the century, especially after World War I, and their generalization thanks to the emergence of the economically independent woman; cosmetics which would make you as glamorous as a film star, and finally, advertising targeting women who wanted 'to catch a man' (7). Dr. Areny de Plandolit's aim when emphasizing men's debility for female beauty echoes the last theme.

<sup>199</sup> (In life, woman represents the vision of grace which constantly obsesses man's brain: he lives because of her and for her, he does the noblest of actions for her, and also the most abhorrent: she is the magnetic pole around which all fatal and praiseworthy aspirations gather; hence, her role in life is preponderant, and that is why she must preserve her natural charms by all means, the success her beauty assures her)

of the female breasts and the treatments to beautify them. In nineteenth century Spanish hygiene literature, the female breast was de-eroticized and typically described in practical terms. The breast was merely the child's source of nourishment, and it was frequently idealized through religious imagery as the repository of female motherly abnegation and virtue, since the milk was supposed to transmit the mother's morality to the child. The type of care required for the breasts became a reflection of their crucial but simple mission. Any other care would rip the breasts away of their virginal nature. Thus, hygienists such as Dr. Nácar were careful to point out that the care of the breasts was not complicated, and prescribed exercise as a moral, non lascivious way to attain a desired shape of firmness. In contrast, in the twentieth century massage became a legitimate way to achieve the same goal. Dr. Nácar's description of the breasts, unlike Dr. Areny's, was totally devoid of eroticism

Muy poco tenemos que decir respecto de la cosmética ordinaria de esta parte de la belleza, porque es sumamente sencilla y limitada. El lavado por medio de una esponja fría humedecida en agua compuesta cualquiera, practicada cada ocho o quince días, y alguna que otra fricción general a ambos pechos de cold-cream de buena calidad y suave aroma constituyen la cosmética de esta región.

(Nácar 232)<sup>200</sup>

Although Nácar eventually decided to use the word "pechos" to refer to the female breasts, initially he employed circumlocutions such as "este rasgo estético de la mujer," "esta parte de la belleza" or "esta región." In accordance to hygiene's maxim of

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<sup>200</sup>(We have very little to say about the cosmetic care of this ordinary part of women's beauty, for it is extremely simple and limited. Washing with a sponge dipped in scented cold water, every eight to fifteen days, and maybe some general frictions in both breasts with good quality and lightly scented cold cream constitute the cosmetic care of this area).

moderation, the ideal female breasts from a bourgeois point of view were average, neither excessively small nor excessively big. The incomparable whiteness and firmness of the breasts represented the woman's virginity and modesty, not having exposed or touched the breasts herself or by others:<sup>201</sup>

La forma más bella y que más atractivo tiene para el otro sexo es aquella que tiene proporciones regulares, es decir, que ni llame la atención por su excesivo desarrollo ni por su exagerada pequeñez [...] este rasgo estético de la mujer ha de ser redondo, de regulares proporciones, levantado, de una blancura incomparable y casi idéntico al que ostentan esas famosas esculturas de Venus que los grandes artistas de la antigüedad nos han dejado. (Nácar 232-3)<sup>202</sup>

The breasts were linked to the passive, cold perfection of the statue of Venus, a link with tradition and antiquity as well as a male standard of female beauty. This “coldness” in the portrayal and the hygienic treatment of the female breasts (the use of cold cream and cold water) all became symbolic of the bourgeois attitude towards female sexuality. Nácar's moral bias against female sexuality was conveyed by his advice of using moral ways of achieving this bourgeois breast ideal. These methods consisted in preferably using an indirect influence over the area through exercise to avoid touching: singing, dancing, cold baths, horseback riding, even skating (232-3).

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<sup>201</sup> In 1922, Coco Chanel involuntarily changed this standard of whiteness after displaying her tanned neckline in Cannes (Vila-San Juan 316)

<sup>202</sup> (The most beautiful and attractive breast shape for the opposite sex is regular in proportion, that is to say, breasts which do not attract attention due to their excessive development or exaggerated small size [...] this aesthetic feature of women must be round, of regular proportion, elevated, of incomparable whiteness and almost identical to those famous statues of Venus the great artists of antiquity have left us)



In contrast to Dr.Nácar's restraint and coldness in his description of the female breasts, Dr.Areny de Plandolit's discourse was loaded with imagery commonplace in erotic popular literature of the nineteen twenties. This imagery related the breasts to enticing fruit or terse and delicately colored buds. However, Dr. Areny also depicted them as aggressive and pointy as weapons, or, inspired by the early twentieth century craze for sports and art déco, even foot-balls and tulip-shaped lampshades "de cristal de Sévres:"

La forma de los senos femeninos varía en varios sentidos. Pechos en forma de manzana, en forma de pera, más o menos salientes, de contextura y volumen exagerados que recuerdan a pelotas de foot-ball, de configuración agresiva, colocados hacia delante, desmadejados, y lacios propensos a mirar hacia el suelo. También les da un atractivo especial la forma de magnolias o limones erguidos y dirigiéndose hacia lo alto como pidiendo besos y caricias del marido, del amante [...] (274)<sup>203</sup>

It is fascinating how Dr. Areny's passage stylistically exploited the breasts' erotic potential for the male and the female, intentionally lost in nineteenth century hygiene literature.

Dr. Areny affirms that this manual's readership was female; women who wanted to work as beauticians or masseuses or women who wanted to beautify themselves. His mention to a husband, maybe even a lover, kissing and caressing the female breasts gives

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<sup>203</sup> (The shape of breasts varies in different ways. Breasts with the shape of apples, pears, more or less standing out, of texture and volume similar to footballs, with an aggressive configuration, pointed, exhausted and limp, looking to the ground. The shape of magnolias or upright lemons, looking up as if asking for the husband or lover's kisses and caresses, is especially attractive)

this passage an extra charge of eroticism for the female reader. Nevertheless, despite this concession to female desire, the detailed description of the ideal breasts from an aesthetic point of view was a male erotic fantasy: the breasts were terse magnolias, a metaphor referring to their petal-like firmness and softness. This firmness indicates a new ideal of female beauty, a shift from the abundant, less firm breasts of the nineteenth century matron, which had to be contained by the corset and were closely related to motherhood. Even more erotic is the comparison of the breasts with lemons, a metaphor which gives special attention to the direction and hardness of the breast, especially the nipple, looking up as if asking to be pleased by the husband or lover. Dr. Areny seems to embody the attitude of the bourgeois “new woman” in the erotic depiction of her smaller, firmer and more aggressive looking breasts. The “new Eve” was a titillating and daring sexual figure which promised men sexual satisfaction without prudishness.

Despite its ties to male desire, this new beauty standard became both a reflection of and an inspiration for female emancipation, hence the virulent reaction of traditional hygienists and priests against the new cosmetics and fashion. According to Luis Vila-San Juan, the main changes in female dress in the twenties were “ 1.Un rápido paso de la línea corporal en forma de S a la figura de H estilizada, con al palo horizontal algo más abajo de la cintura. 2. La falda se acorta paulatinamente, hasta acabar por encima de las rodillas, en 1929.”<sup>204</sup> Artists such as Rafael de Penagos (1889-1954), an illustrator for popular magazines such as *Blanco y Negro*, and fashion designers like Coco Chanel contributed in the twenties to the disposing of the nineteenth century matron-like ideal for a more European model: “una fémina sin celulitis, prieta, levemente nórdica [...]”.

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<sup>204</sup> (1.A quick shift from a body line in the shape of an S, to a stylized H shape, with the horizontal line lower than the waist. 2. Skirts shorten gradually until reaching above the knee in 1929)

Penagos intenta borrar esta horrible forma de S en la que la mujer (aparte de su sombrero) está dibujada por un enorme pecho (uno sólo) y un enorme trasero” (qtd in Vila-San Juan 302).<sup>205</sup>

After more than half a century of the cult of passive femininity or *cult of female invalidism*, using Bram Dijkstra’s term, in which “unusual physical vigor” in women was considered dangerous and masculinizing (*Idols of perversity* 26), women were presented in erotic fiction as energetic, liberated, rediscovering their physicality and their body’s potential for pleasure purposes. This “foreign-like” attitude became one of the most effective teasers which lured Spanish readers to the affordable erotic short novel. In Fernando Albuquerque’s *La alegría de la carne*, the discourse used to describe the male protagonist’s fiancée, Isabel, greatly resembles Dr. Areny’ de Plandolit’s.<sup>206</sup> The plot is simple and focuses in Isabel’s acceptance, after some reticence, to have sexual intercourse with Miguel. The climax of the novel, the previous moments before intercourse, constitutes the height of eroticism built up by the narrator by previous mentions to Isabel’s second thoughts about having sex with her fiancé, and a careful and detailed description of Isabel’s body and attire, taken off slowly by herself and Miguel. As in Dr. Areny’s case, enticing fruit is used to describe Isabel’s lips, “gruesos y sensuales, que tenían, al ser besados, el perfume y el sabor de los fresones” (*Antología de la novela corta* 596).<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> (a female without cellulite, hard, somewhat Nordic [...]) Penagos tries to erase that horrible S shape in which women (apart from their hats) were drawn with enormous breasts (only one) and an enormous rear)

<sup>206</sup> This 1931 novella was published in the erotic magazine *Fru Frú. Segunda época* (Litvak, *Antología de la novela corta* 593-611).

<sup>207</sup> (thick and sensuous lips which, when kissed, had the flavor and the scent of strawberries)

In the case of the breasts, the nineteenth century ideal of the female body as the angel's temple to be revered, not desecrated through physicality and sexuality, was subverted by Albuquerque to describe the godly splendor and position of Isabel's breasts, high and beautiful as an altar: "el pecho muy alto, muy firme, quizá algo grande para su persona, pero hermoso como un altar" (*Antología de la novela corta* 596).<sup>208</sup> Finally, the connection between Albuquerque and Dr. Areny's discourse becomes apparent when Miguel decides to take action and touch Isabel's breasts, after being enticed by her painstakingly slow "strip-tease:"

El muchacho se encontró con las dos pomas de amor entre sus manos, como un mendigo que, al despertar, se encontrara en las manos un tesoro [...] [Miguel] se inclinaba para dejar besos por los hombros de Isabel, por los pechos tan altivos, donde el pezón era como un capullo diminuto de esas rosas que adornan las vallas de los jardines. (598- 9)<sup>209</sup>

Like those men attracted to Dr. Areny's "magnetic pole of female beauty," Miguel becomes a "beggar" at Isabel's mercy, who is the one who decides when he is going to receive the gift of her bounty of beauty and sexuality. Her breasts become apples to be kissed by her lover, and her nipples small, tight rose buds.

Flower metaphors and circumlocutions, used in nineteenth century hygiene literature as discursive self-censorship to neutralize any eroticism or to add poeticity to woman's passive and frail beauty, became a typical strategy of erotic literature to distinguish itself from pornography (Litvak, *Antología de la novela corta* 72-3). The incorporation of fruit

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<sup>208</sup> (very high breasts, very firm, maybe a little bit big, but beautiful like an altar)

<sup>209</sup> (The boy found himself with both love apples in his hands, like a beggar who, after awakening, had a treasure in his hands [...] [Miguel] leaned down to kiss Isabel's shoulders, her proud breasts, whose nipple was a tiny bud from those roses which adorn garden fences)

and food metaphors was a way to activate the reader's imagination and to appeal to different senses such as sight, taste and smell. The use of periphrasis represented a joyous delay in erotic fulfillment instead of a more blunt, direct expression. In the same way, Dr. Areny employed metaphors and personification to charge some passages with very vivid erotic impressions: in contrast to Dr. Nacar's neutral "esta parte de la belleza," Dr. Areny calls the breasts "deliciosos mellizos" and "ondulaciones palpitantes bajo los vaporosos y sedenos tejidos que mal encubren los lindos senos femeninos" (Areny 273).<sup>210</sup>

Although critics dealing with erotic literature from this period have focused on defining what constitutes the erotic novel and its relationship with other forms of literature, besides its gender, social and moral implications, the question of readership has been overlooked. One has to assume that, due to the very high sales of erotic novels and collections and the more positive attitude towards female sexuality at this time, the readership was both male and female. However, unlike the *novela rosa*, which was clearly associated with a female readership as it emphasized feeling and sentimentality in love relationships, the focus on women and their physicality in erotic novels indicate that their authors had a male readership in mind. Hence, the body and attire of women, not men, were portrayed as the main source of eroticism in these novels: The features of seductive women in the erotic novels from *El cuento semanal*, for example, were women's eyes, hair, height, mouth, cheeks, neck, breasts, hips, legs, voice and laugh. In contrast, although the category "características morales generales" was part of the crafting of erotic female characters, most traits made emphasis on the female body, not female personality or aspirations (Fernández Gutiérrez 116). In this way, despite the

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<sup>210</sup> (delicious twins) (palpitating undulations under sheer, silky fabrics which scarcely cover the beautiful female breasts)

sense of female sexual emancipation which may be inferred in erotic literature, the traditional perception of women as men's object of desire was perpetuated through the detailed description of their body parts and attire:

Los perfumes, la ropa interior delicada, los corsés, los tacones altos, constituyen en su totalidad un conjunto de estímulos con una fortísima carga autoerótica. Los moralistas, que son hombres, se ocuparon siempre de las zonas erógenas individuadas por el ojo masculino: los senos, las nalgas, el pubis, nunca se ocuparon de la piel porque nunca se les pasó por la cabeza que precisamente la piel fuera la zona erógena [femenina] por excelencia. La industria cosmética, con sus lociones, masajes, perfumes, bálsamos y baños, está destinada a este erotismo. (*La novela corta galante* 109)<sup>211</sup>

The ambiguous purpose and destination of female beauty and its cultivation in a time of seeming sexual openness for women was also present in Dr. Areny de Plandolit's *Cultivo de la estética de la mujer*. Cosmetics, massage and the rubbing of perfume and lotions on the breasts, as Fernández Gutiérrez suggests, could become a source for female self-pleasure. Nevertheless, similarly to the the focus of erotic literature on providing pleasure for a male audience, the pleasurable potential of cosmetic care for the female reader was eventually neutralized in Dr. Areny's manual. This doctor was stylistically

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<sup>211</sup> (Perfumes, delicate underwear, corsets, high heels, all constitute a group of stimuli with a extremely strong erotic charge. Moralists, who are men, always dealt with individual erogenous areas of women selected by the male eye: the breasts, the buttocks, the pubis, they never worried about women's skin because they never thought that, precisely this feature, was women's erogenous zone par excellence. The cosmetic industry, with its lotions, massages, perfumes and bath salts, is destined to this eroticism)

Fernández Gutiérrez differentiates Felipe Trigo's erotic novels from other short novels and collections by affirming that, although Trigo employed stereotypical women and teasers to attract an audience, his intention was to convey his progressive ideals on female education and breaking sexual taboos: "los retratos de mujeres son el atractivo, el anzuelo, la nota erótica que sirve de cauce para expresar un preocupación más honda" (these portraits of women are the attractive bait, the erotic element which serves as a means to express a deeper preoccupation) (*La novela corta galante* 123)

daring but essentially traditional due to the fact that the “new woman” put hygienists in a serious predicament.

Since mid nineteenth century, together with priests, hygienist doctors had been associated with the physical and moral restriction of the female population in the name of health. On the one hand, it was tempting for hygienists to exploit the great economic benefits which the cosmetic and fashion market offered them; on the other hand, they needed to preserve their authority as medical experts and eliminate any sign of “frivolity” from their works. As a result, Dr. Areny adapted his manual to the social and political circumstances of his time but preserved the elevated themes of tradition and nation as a “security net.” As Pierre Bourdieu affirms, for a group of specialists it is always of the outmost importance to retain their power and authority as experts by

Not reducing discourse to its simplest expression. Elevated ‘style’ is the means by which a discourse declares itself to be authorized, invested, by virtue of its very conformity, with the authority of a body of people especially mandated to exercise a kind of conceptual magistrature [...] (*Language and symbolic power* 152)

In this way, Dr. Areny’s eroticism was contradicted by traditional admonitions echoing the nineteenth century angelic model, which would rid his manual from any accusations of frivolity, immorality, or not being hygiene-inspired. Furthermore, this certainly avoided any problems with censorship at the time of publishing, during general Miguel Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship (1923-1930). Allison Sinclair points out that censorship of sexual matters during Primo’s dictatorship, like the general himself, was unpredictable, inefficient and sprung out of conservative pressure, especially Catholic daily papers.

While books were not subjected to pre-censorship, Primo de Rivera showed strong concerns about “making revolutionary ideas public” and making them accessible to the general population. In this way, speeches were considered more dangerous than written literature. For example, events such as the 1928 *Eugenics Conference* was suppressed by Primo for it dealt with “conceptos verdaderamente demoledores de la familia y los fundamentos sociales, y destructivos de la santidad del matrimonio y de la dignidad de la mujer” (qud. in Sinclair 54).<sup>212</sup> Dr. Areny’s manual divulged information for a popular audience, therefore self-censorship was necessary.

Primo de Rivera himself was an ambiguous figure: an authoritarian, military, father-like figure and a scandalous, romance-novel dandy, crazy for women of all conditions, “amores altos y plebeyos.”<sup>213</sup> Primo was the

típico andaluz aficionado al juego y al vino, falto de preparación intelectual que, dado a los placeres fáciles de la vida, buscaba el aplauso [...] se dice de él que ha sido un gran enamorado, que ha amado mucho; pero... también se dice que ha preferido el mariposeo a la constancia. (Vila-San Juan 201)<sup>214</sup>

During the first six years of the dictatorship, Primo was obsessed with implementing an army-inspired physical and mental training of the masses in order to “make a new

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<sup>212</sup> (truly devastating concepts for the family and the base of society, destructive to the sanctity of marriage and women’s dignity)

<sup>213</sup> Primo de Rivera’s inconstancy was reflected in his policies, juggling between the coercion of nationalist movements in Catalonia, where he banned the flag, songs, dances and language, while protecting the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie (mainly belonging to Catalonia and the Basque Country); at the same time, he tried to gain the support of the rural masses and the proletariat by favoring modernization and creating infrastructures. However, he did not wish to betray the traditional beliefs of the Church and secured the support of the army, which favored centralization. General discontent finally led to his deposition in 1930 (Vidal-San Juan 335-7; Quiroga ix).

<sup>214</sup> (a typical Andalusian male fond of betting and wine, lacking intellectual preparation and used to life’s easy pleasures, always looking for applause [...] of him it is said that he has been a great lover, that he has loved much; however... it is also said that he has preferred flirting to fidelity)



Spaniard,” a project which he envisioned as the only way to ensure the prosperity of the Spanish race. The three figures selected to collaborate in fulfilling this mission and help Primo’s local *delegados* sent to hamlets, towns and cities, were local teachers, priests and doctors:

In the *primorriverista* bid for civilian mass indoctrination, the main role was played by the *delegados gubernativos* [...]. The delegates were ordered to organize the local Somatén, boy-scouts, gymnastic associations and cultural clubs for men and women. They were also responsible for organizing patriotic lectures, which should promote the virtues of the ‘Spanish race’ and emphasize the duty to defend the fatherland, respect authority and the head of the state, protect the environment, and pay taxes. For this educational undertaking of ‘strengthening the citizen’s soul and body,’ delegates were advised to enlist the participation of local teachers, priests and doctors. (Quiroga 93-4)

Dr. Areny’s *Cultivo de la estética de la mujer* was a reflection of Primo de Rivera’s contradictory policies of modernizing Spain while keeping its traditional essence. In this manner, hygiene tradition took over Dr. Areny’s erotic and emancipating discourse to later link the kissing and caressing of the female to noxious and sensuous “foreign practices.” Nursing and children, however, were poeticized with a periphrasis echoing nineteenth century manuals as “los pequeños seres que apenas pisan los umbrales de la vida.” Breasts were re-inscribed as instruments to feed children and, suddenly, their beauty became inconsequential for any decent housewife:

[besar y acariciar los pechos] no se ha definido si es perfectamente lícito o más bien contraproducente bajo el aspecto higiénico que es en resumen el único en

que nosotros haremos incapié. El manosearlos, besarlos y aun macerarlos con los labios (**costumbre harto frecuente en el extranjero**.... y aún en nuestro país) es en extremo prejudicial para los senos. Nosotros, dirigiéndonos a los adultos, como es del caso, no podemos elogiar ni aconsejar esas exageradas caricias, esos ósculos apasionados que tienden a deformar los bellos senos femeninos, y fomentar hábitos de sensualismos morbosos y muchas veces perjudiciales para la persona acariciada como por la que acaricia. La misión de amamantar con perfección a los pequeños seres que apenas pisan los umbrales de la vida, es la que a los pechos, sean hermosos y bien proporcionados o no, es la única que en rigor incumbe a una perfecta mujer de su casa. (274, emphasis mine)<sup>215</sup>

Dr. Areny's conclusion about touching the breasts, after indulging himself in the thought of their aggressive lemon-like pointedness, was to keep them quiet due to their delicate structure and susceptibility to disorders. By avoiding sexual over-stimulation, the kisser and the kissed were safe from physical decay: the male was free from overexerting his nerves and the woman from cancer, a piece of advice not distant from Dr. Sánchez Otero and Ángel Ganivet's warnings. After presenting the female breasts as glorious, enticing fruit asking for the lover's kisses, and female beauty as an irresistible lure for men, the

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<sup>215</sup>( [kissing and caressing the breasts] has not been demonstrated to be truly licit, on the contrary, it is damaging from hygiene's point of view, which is the only point of view we are emphasizing here. Touching them repeatedly, kissing them and even macerating them with the lips (a very typical custom abroad...and even in our country) is extremely harmful for the breasts. Dealing with adults, as it is the case, we cannot praise or advice those exaggerated caresses, those passionate kisses which tend to deform the beautiful female breasts; we cannot foster morbid, sensuous habits, many times dangerous to the person being caressed as much as to the person caressing. The mission of perfectly feeding those little beings that just went through the threshold of life must be the only one a housewife should care about, even if her breasts are beautiful and well proportioned)

breasts were related to virginity through two metaphors of clear, fragile crystal and delicate rose buds not to be disturbed (Areny de Plandolit 275).<sup>216</sup>

Since Dr. Areny's work was recommended to masseuses, massage to enhance the beauty of the breasts was only to be applied to the pectoral muscles, and only as long as the procedure was done by a professional, which safeguarded the need for his expertise: "un masaje rigurosamente medico [...] de fatales resultados si su técnica no se verifica con habilidad suma, ya que en vez de favorecerlos [a los pechos] puede destrozarlos" (281-2).<sup>217</sup> Once more, the doctor became a moralist who coerced female emancipation by shaping the female body and conduct into a decorous, "very Spanish" mold, the "maiden of old times" Dr. Sánchez Otero alluded to in *Higiene corporal y moral de la mujer*. Hygiene and medicine's double standard, embodied by Dr. Areny's erotically charged passages later to be cooled down by typical hygienic admonitions, was best expressed in Felipe Trigo's novel *El médico rural* (1912). This novel shared with hygiene and *cosmetology* the controversial themes of naturalness versus artificiality from an aesthetic and moral point of view. In accordance to Trigo's ideal of harmonizing elements which traditionally were opposed, his novel closely linked medicine, the figure of the doctor and eroticism.

Esteban, the rural doctor appointed to the miserable, Andalusian mountain hamlet of Palomas, and later to the prosperous town of Castellar, continuously reflects upon the

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<sup>216</sup> (Do not disturb the delicacy of those delicious twins, their softness and virginal look; they require loving care, very special care, like that of rose buds or lampshades of Sévres crystal. The breasts are not authorized to enjoy excessive freedom and, as we have said before, the greatly dangerous sensuous appetites in the opposite sex must be stifled)

<sup>217</sup> (a rigorously medical massage [...] of fatal results if it not conducted with outmost care for, instead of benefiting the breasts, it can destroy them)

About the different treatment of breast massage in foreign manuals, see figure 5 of the French *Consejos íntimos de mi médico, Doctor René Vaucaire. La mujer. Su salud, su higiene, su belleza* (1929). In this manual's illustrations a woman freely manipulates her breasts to achieve a desired shape or firmness.

purpose and sincerity of his profession by scrutinizing the attire, verbosity and theatricality of his colleagues. Trigo's innovative look on the typical dichotomy which obsessed hygienists (naturalness versus artificiality) consisted of breaking with the traditional discourse surrounding medicine and the male doctor with a halo of altruism and truthfulness, the doctor's unabashed courage to fight disease. Trigo achieved this demystification by charging the professional relationship between the male doctor and his female clientele with eroticism, also by connecting medicine with female toiletry and the display of the body through attire and accessories. By presenting medicine as "frivolous" and by underscoring the erotic potential of medicine, Trigo criticized bourgeois moral double standard represented by hygienists such as Dr. Monlau, Nacar, Sánchez Otero, and Areny, who contributed to create the fiction of the objective doctor through their pseudoscientific erudition and admonitions.

Trigo's eroticism has been interpreted in multiple fashions: as an excuse for personal profit since his novels were quite expensive; as a challenge to Catholic tradition by putting forward an agenda for love and vitality, sexual freedom and progressiveness (Ríos-Font, Correa, Bergamín, Litvak) or "la exaltación de un erotismo liberador, puro y noble, rechazando la pasión y la lujuria; y la armonización, gracias a esa 'fuerza pura y natural,' de lo espiritual y lo corporal" (Martínez San Martín 76).<sup>218</sup> Contrary to this positive interpretation, Trigo's eroticism has been criticized as a way to coerce female emancipation by reinforcing heterosexual relationships in a time of sexual ambiguity (Celaya-Carrillo). For contemporaries like novelist Leopoldo "Alas" Clarín, Trigo's writing was pornographic and the author himself "un corruptor de menores y un corruptor

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<sup>218</sup> (the praise of a liberating eroticism, pure and noble, which rejects passion and lust and harmonizes the spirit and the flesh thanks to this "natural and pure force")

del idioma español” (qtd. in Bergamín ix).<sup>219</sup> Until recently, Trigo’s works have been considered by the academia as “low quality” for their wide popular success in magazines and for their erotic content. The only apparent aspects of Trigo’s work are that he became one of the best selling authors in his time, and that he was bound for scandal.

In the heated academic debate about the purpose of Trigo’s eroticism, the link between the doctor and cosmetic performance has been overlooked. By linking the medical establishment to materiality and eroticism, *El médico rural* questions and exposes doctors’ “marketing” strategies to sell their services to the population. According to Wadda Ríos-Font, Trigo’s eroticism make his works “frontier texts” which traditionally have stood in a liminal position in relation to the literary canon. This liminality gives these texts “the potential to stir up both established literary history and ingrained critical methodologies” (11). Ríos-Font analyzes Trigo from the point of view of the academic perception of his work as either valuable or not worthy of serious study. However, I will focus on the contemporary implications of Trigo’s liminal and controversial way of narrating, what I consider a strategy to “stir up” a debate about the subjective, mercantile and hypocritical role of the medical experts.

*El médico rural* initially presents a typical turn-of-the-century conflict for Esteban, the newly appointed doctor at the Andalusian town of Castellar, in relation to an emancipated woman. In a similar way to contemporary media and the feared “2000 effect,” predicaments such as Esteban’s were depicted *ad infinitum* by turn-of-the-century popular media. The gender tensions embodied by the “modern woman” were widely exploited for sensationalistic purposes by taking advantage of a critical time frame which

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<sup>219</sup> (a corruptor of minors and the Spanish language)

was psychologically invested with “metaphors of death and rebirth” (Showalter 2).<sup>220</sup> The hope for a brighter future in the new century was represented by talented “men of science” who would bring progress and prosperity to Western society. In contrast to these male figures, the fear of the unknown and the threat of pulling back to a “savage,” irrational and aberrant past was embodied by exotic female characters who lured and physically, mentally and economically sucked these men’s energy and talents: “woman had become the personification of the sins of the flesh. Seen as jealous of man’s exclusive capacity for spiritual transcendence, she was thought to be intent upon doing everything in her power to drag the male back into her erotic realm” (Dijkstra 221).<sup>221</sup>

In Esteban’s case, although he is happily married to Jacinta, a middle class angelic wife pregnant with his second child, he falls for the charms of Evelina, a renowned couplet artist, temptress and exotic “goddess” whose physical beauty and ability with attire and cosmetics has all the men in Castellar, rich and poor, at her feet.<sup>222</sup> Esteban’s obsessive sexual relationship with Evelina threatens to ruin his marriage, reputation and success as a doctor. However, this typical dichotomic plot consisting of a “man-eating,”

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<sup>220</sup> In the turn to the twentieth century, the “metaphors of death and ruin” Elaine Showalter discusses stood for “sexual anarchy” or the blurring of traditional gender roles. The rise of feminism, the need of many women to work as marriage rates were decreasing due to economic and political difficulties, and the slaughtering of the male population during the First World War caused a crisis in patriarchy and its images of masculinity.

<sup>221</sup> In *Idols of perversity. Fantasies of feminine evil in fin-de-siècle culture*, Bram Dijkstra exposes the scientific theories behind the misogynist artistic and literary depiction of women at the turn of the century. Pseudo-scientists such as renowned criminal anthropologist Cesare Lombroso, Hungarian social critic and doctor Max Nordau, Austrian philosopher Otto Weininger or Charles Darwin presented women as agents of devolution impairing human progress. The linked women to criminality and savagery, which was expressed artistically through images of parasitism (clinging vines and snakes), sexually ferocious animals like cats, tigers, lions and the mythical Amazons and Fauns, or by relating women to “lower races” such the Jews and blacks.

<sup>222</sup> In the nineteen teens, twenties and thirties, couplet singers were among the most eroticized female figures in Spain. The “couplet” or “cuplé,” was a “mass commercial song” or “spectacle-song” in which verse, music and passionate interpretation mingled to voice popular concern and interests in love, eroticism, politics, etc. Some of the most famous cupletistas were La Fornarina, La Bella Chelito, La Tirana and Pastora Imperio (Salaún 8-13).

“liberated woman” threatening to destroy the innocent man of reason’s physical, moral and social integrity, is subverted if we pay close attention to Esteban’s description of his profession, his colleagues and his “not so innocent” behavior with his female clientele.

According to Ángel Martínez San Martín, the quality of *El médico rural*, considered Trigo’s best novel together with *Jarrapellejos* (1921), resides precisely in the male protagonist’s ambiguity. The novel shifts from a *novela de tesis* to being a *bildungsroman*.<sup>223</sup> Esteban is not a clear-cut male character, “el redentor, el místico del amor nuevo, el avanzado,” “un ‘filósofo’ de la nueva moral amorosa,” all in all, a superior man who tries to impose his views of the world on others (65, 177-8).<sup>224</sup> As a character, Esteban is endowed with sensibility, the ability to reflect on the social atmosphere of his time and the capacity of feeling unrest. He is more human and convincing character, a complex or *personaje redondo* due to its cynicism and somewhat passive and cowardly nature (Martínez San Martín 180-1). Although the female characters in *El médico rural* can be recognized as *tipos* used frequently by Trigo such as the *ingenua* (Inés) and the *lasciva* (Evelina) however, these women, especially Evelina, are not “la hembra, bella y, quizá, sensible, degradada por la sociedad e incapaz de elevarse a la altura moral de él” (Martínez San Martín 65, 96). Much to the contrary, the separation between superior male of reason and inferior female collapses in *El médico rural*.

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<sup>223</sup> According to Ángel Martínez San Martín, the *novela de tesis* was Trigo’s preferred format, which used masculine and feminine *personajes tipo* to convey the author’s ideas on love, sexuality and the Spanish repressive social atmosphere.

<sup>224</sup> (a redeemer, a love mystic, progressive, a philosopher of the new love morality, a superior man who, more than analyzing or understanding reality, tries to impose his world view on others)

An obvious connection between the figure of Evelina and Esteban is her elaborate boudoir, full of instruments for beautification, and Esteban's office, especially the cabinet which he fills with medical instruments to impress his patients. The town is "muy novelero," affirms the priest Don Luis, who recommends that Esteban put on a performance if he wants to gain clientele. Unlike nineteenth century hygiene manuals, which equated the doctor to a priest and savior of humanity, in *El médico rural* at first Esteban is disillusioned with the practical, financial implications of his profession. Competition forces Esteban to "sell" his expertise through his physical appearance and his office furnishings to achieve fame. Thus, medicine becomes a "santo sacerdocio por mitad, y la otra mitad canallería" (201), "de augusto ministerio de verdad que podría ser, en farsa" (155).<sup>225</sup> Here doctors, who typically looked down on women's use of cosmetics and French fashions as whimsical and frivolous, use the same tricks to "catch" customers in Castellar. Dr. Peña, Esteban's stronger rival,

da el golpe con su coche, con su anillo de brillantes y con su acento autoritario y las palabritas en francés que de tiempo en tiempo larga. El despacho debe deslumbrar a la gente en las consultas. Sus antecesores lo habían llenado de ojos reventados, de láminas con destrozos anatómicos, de cosas de hospital...y además de títulos y de un instrumental complicadísimo [...] Pero hace falta, ¡relumbrón! ¡Castellar es un pueblo extraordinario! (92)<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> (half priesthood, half quackery, from a magnificent ministry of truth to a farce)

<sup>226</sup> (caused a stir with his carriage, with his diamond ring and his authoritarian accent, his cute little words in French which he let fly from time to time. His office must stun people during visits. His antecessors had filled it up with burst eyes, posters full of anatomical disasters, hospital things... besides diplomas and very complicated medical instruments [...] Flashiness is necessary here! Castellar is an extraordinary town!)



In order to make a living in Castellar, Esteban tries to shed his bourgeois stinginess and decorate his home and office accordingly. In Esteban's home office the private and public spheres collapse. Home furnishing and decorations are equated to medical instruments for most of the furniture and medical equipment are *just for show* and have no practical purpose but to dazzle neighbors, visitors and patients. The objects in Esteban's brand new medical cabinet are decoys related to theater and "child's play." Objects related to gynecology or women's intimate care, such as Jacinta's vaginal irrigator and a speculum, are used by Esteban to impress patients and check their throats:

Una vitrina y el aumento del menguado arsenal con varios instrumentos: forceps, venda de Esmart, pinzas, cánulas, jeringas, un bisturí grande que podía servir de cuchillito...; pero tan pocos, al fin, que para medio llenar siquiera la diáfana ostentación del bello mueble. Esteban desparramaba dentro las tijeras y escalpelos de su estuche, dejando éste vacío y cerrado al pie; el estereoscopio, el fonendoscopio, los cuatro lentes de un gemelo de teatro desarmado, el espejo de un juguete de Luisín, parecido a un reflector, y hasta... el irrigador de Jacinta. Sonreíase mirándolo, y ya lo había él dicho en un anticipado acuerdo con los consejos de don Luis: Tendré que ser un poco cómico, hasta ir adquiriendo lo preciso. (93)<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> (A display case and the increase in the reduced medical arsenal thanks to various instruments: forceps, Esmart bandages, cannulas, syringes, a big scalpel which could serve as a *cuchillito*...; but so few of them, anyway, that to half fill the crystal clear ostentation of the beautiful cabinet, Esteban spread the scissors and scalpels from his bag, leaving the bag empty and closed at the cabinet's feet; the stethoscope, the four lenses of a dismantled pair of theater binoculars, the mirror from one of Luisín's toys, similar to a reflector, and even... Jacinta's vaginal irrigator. He smiled when he saw it, and he remembered his thoughts after talking to don Luis: I will have to be a little bit of an actor, until I acquire what I need)

Little by little Esteban is able to complete his doctor's "dramatis persona" with more instruments: a baton, riding attire and an astounding grey horse which he ties up strategically in conspicuous places around town to advertise himself.

If the doctor's office, cabinet, bag and horse are symbols of his status, knowledge and mobility for the villagers, in the same way Evelina's boudoir is a reflection of her agency and power in Castellar. Nevertheless, in contrast to the good reputation of Esteban and his "quack" colleagues, she is criticized and envied by women and men and considered a shameless "lunia" (whore). The narrator explains in medical terms how seeing the abundance of clothes, water and body care products in Evelina's boudoir functions as a *revulsive* (a purge) in Esteban's body and psyche. Evelina makes him feel inferior, mediocre, insipid, even uneducated compared to her mundane knowledge of world capitals and *la crème de la crème* of foreign society. Jacinta's qualities as an angelic wife and mother lose any value before the sensuous power of Evelina's beauty tools:

Evelina olía a perfumes; vestía gasas, sedas, medias caladas, deslumbrábale sin querer, en fin, de hermosura, de brillantes, de elegancia...; de todo eso que forma el seductor conjunto de una dama que se pasa el día al espejo..., y a pesar suyo Esteban, viniendo del chalet, encontraba a su mujer descuidada en el traje y el adorno... muchas veces sin peinar, con una chambra cualquiera y soltados o arrancados unos cuantos botones en la botas. (143-4)<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> (Evelina smelled like perfume; she was dressed in chiffon, silk, wore net hose, involuntarily he was stunned by her beauty, her diamonds, her elegance...; by everything which forms the overall charm of a lady which spends the entire day in front of the mirror... and against his will, coming from the chalet, Esteban thought that his wife neglected dress and adornment... many times she did not do her hair and was wearing a common jacket, or boots with loose or missing buttons)

The truthful abundance of Evelina's cosmetic treatments and the honest exposure of all her attire before Esteban contrasts with the falseness of bourgeois morals and stinginess, represented by Esteban's wife. Evelina's use of abundant water for her daily grooming has nothing to do with the minimal care of prudish female landowners in Castellar, who Evelina calls "rosoñas" (mangy), symbolizing their bodily and moral "hidden" dirtiness. The eroticism in this scene, previous to intercourse, is achieved by very similar references to those used by Dr. Areny in *Cultivo de la estética de la mujer* and erotic short novels such as *La alegría de la carne*. Nineteenth century traditional references to private spaces as temples or sanctuaries are now influenced by the new "pagan" orientalist craze: Evelina is a divine amber and ivory goddess, but a dangerous, beastly or carnal one. She is a sorceress, a dominatrix, a "perverse idol." The little tables in her boudoir, dedicated to each part of her divine body, resemble laced altars but also an exotic, abundant bazaar, and the basin where she washes her body reminds the reader of a font for baptism:

Deseaba mostrarle [a Esteban] bien el contraste de unas mujeres que en la vida se aseaban, y lo que debía ser, lo que era otra mujer exquisitamente limpia. La gran pila de mármol, con grifos niquelados, lucíase regia en un rincón, sus llaves daban el agua a torrentes [...] Dos mesitas, vestidas de encajes y de cintas, como altares, sostenían todo un bazar de perfumes, jabones, peines y cepillos; una de ellas destinábase exclusivamente al cuidado de los pies. [...] Fue al armario y por vanidad de pulcritud púsose excitadamente a mostrar sus

ropas íntimas: enaguas, camisas, pantalones, saltos de cama como espumas; pañuelos y medias por docenas, riquísimas; corsés, ligas y zapatos. (153)<sup>229</sup>

The boudoir is periphrastically compared by the narrator to a “paraíso sensual” or “delicioso nido de voluptuosidad y galantería.”<sup>230</sup> The flood of white, laced underwear indicates the danger Evelina represents, a sensuous tide which can drag and destroy men. Hence, Evelina’s body, veiled lightly with a tunic, becomes a “divina bestia” for whom men, rich and poor, went crazy and even killed themselves (153). As in Dr. Areny’s manual, in which body care becomes an erotic trigger, Evelina’s display of her boudoir, her sparkling clean underwear and the thrill of danger leads to the couple daringly making love next to the room where her husband’s lies prostrated in bed.

Esteban eventually rationalizes and medicalizes Evelina’s abundant dispense of her beauty and sexuality as a perversity, fatuousness, cold vanity without soul or feeling, just for the pleasure of exerting power over a man. Esteban’s pathologization of Evelina’s excessive sexuality is the typical medical posture when the “man of science” is presented with a female threat. However, the seeming devaluing of Evelina contrasts with her unashamed boldness in comparison with bourgeois hypocrisy. Castellar’s female

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<sup>229</sup> (She wanted to show Esteban the contrast between clean women, and what an exquisitely clean woman should be. The great marble basin, with nickel faucets, regally flaunted its beauty in a corner, its faucets gave out torrents of water [...] Two little tables, adorned with lace and embroidery, like altars, supported a bazaar of perfumes, soap, combs and brushes; one of them was exclusively dedicated to the care of the feet. [...] She went to the closet and, vain with her neatness, she excitedly showed Esteban her underwear: petticoats, shirts, pants, slips like froth; very lovely handkerchiefs and hose by the dozen, corsets, garters and shoes)

<sup>230</sup>(delicious nest of gallantry and voluptuosity)  
In the Spanish translation of the French hygiene manual *Consejos íntimos de mi médico, Doctor René Vaucaire. La mujer. Su salud, su higiene, su belleza* (1929) there is a very similar description of the ideal boudoir. In contrast to Monlau’s hygienic asceticism, the abundance of elements and the specialization of each of them is presented in a very natural manner, without any moralistic undertones. The boudoir must consist of a basin with taps for hot and cold water, a porcelain bidet, a shower, an English porcelain water-closet with a U-bend and connection to the sewer, a bed for massage, a table for perfumes and brushes, and a special table for the care of the hands and nails (47- 8).

bourgeoisie associate decency and modesty with dressing in black and the rejection of cosmetics as an artifice for prostitutes and artists. Thus, cosmetics are associated by these “mujeres de su casa” with morally inferior women from the lower classes. Maids or shepherdesses need to highlight artificially the worth which, in the higher classes, supposedly comes as a pedigree (109, 11).

This bourgeois “virtuous” farce is embodied by Doña Claudia, “la amiga de los médicos.” She carries herself like a decent, devout, hard-working married landowner, but she seduces every new doctor in town. To justify her sexual behavior, Doña Claudia considers her noble right to meddle sexually with distinguished people because of her refined instincts, her fine education and aristocratic dignity. Despite her daily performance as a perfect mother and wife, Doña Claudia’s plan is to dominate and seduce Esteban. Although she is used to “dominate” male doctors through her natural talents, her age makes her feel insecure. Her beauty is fading:

sobre la mesa (y los miraba ella con halucinador horror, igual que se miran los abismos) la blanca crema, la pasta de carmín, los lápices, los cepillos..el frasco de agua química que hubiese de tornarle encantos de mentira también a sus cabellos[...] Pintarse y adobarse ahora, como las criaditas y pastoras que hacíanse públicas perdidas indecentes, parecíala... el paso a la prostitución. ¡¡A la prostitución!! Y, sin embargo, volvían sus ojos a caer sobre el espejo; y éste, allí enfrente, no menos implacable que en ella propia la conciencia,

devolvíala la cruel verdad de su física beldad marchita, de su pelo gris, de sus arrugas, de sus pálidos labios, ásperos y secos... (108)<sup>231</sup>

Doña Claudia's perception of cosmetics as devices fit only for low class peasants or prostitutes is contrasted ironically to her predatory taste for young doctors. This attitude towards natural beauty as virtuous, dating back to nineteenth century hygiene, in *El médico rural* becomes a symbol of bourgeois repressive education in matters of love and sexuality. Hence, this education leads to incongruence and hypocritical behavior such as Doña Claudia's

After his affair with Evelina, and despite Doña Claudia's efforts to attract Esteban, it is her virginal daughter Inés who captures Esteban's sexual interest. As in *Cultivo de la estética de la mujer*, Inés's breasts are described erotically and connected to the medical professional through the routine of the medical check up. Inés young body is displayed freely before Esteban, trusted as an objective man of science and the equivalent to a confessor. Nevertheless, Esteban violates Doña Claudia's trust and takes advantage of his medical access to Inés to seduce and deflower her.

Equating doctors to confessors is an example of what Foucault considered a power shift from religious to scientific authority in the nineteenth century. In this way, the unveiling of the soul to priests is compared to the unveiling of the body and the soul to doctors. This is possible thanks to the sense of trustworthiness these professionals conveyed to the general population, fostered by the vulnerability disease and possible

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<sup>231</sup> (on the table (she looked at them with great horror, as if looking down an abyss) the white cream, carmine paste, the pencils, the brushes... the bottle of chemical water which would turn her hair into a fake charm [...] Wearing make up now, like little maids and shepherdesses who became public, indecent stray women, seemed to her like the first step to prostitution! Prostitution! And, nevertheless, her eyes looked at the mirror once more and, there, no less implacable than her own conscience, the cruel truth reflected back her faded beauty, her gray hair, her wrinkles, her pale lips, rough and dry)

death represented. However, the mythical halo of the doctor-savior did not spring exclusively from this vulnerability, but from the experts' self-representation. Both figures, the doctor and the priest, mythically depicted themselves as objective, trustworthy and disinterested. *El médico rural* precisely tries to question this ideal view and presents doctors as down-to-earth desiring subjects or objects of desire as in the case of Doña Claudia, Inés and Evelina.

One of the most titillating moments in *El médico rural* is the “unveiling” of the female chest by the doctor. Doña Claudia's daughter, Inés, suffers hysterical attacks which Esteban relates to sexual repression, a typical nineteenth century explanation for this ailment.<sup>232</sup> He does an exhaustive check up on the patient's chest area, which confirms Inés's sensual excitation:

Púsose a percutirla. El contacto de su mano estremecíala en un martirio de rubor; lentamente le fue arrancando a aquel bien constituido tórax sonoridades claras, que no pudo estimar como anormales. Cuando tuvo que auscultar, la camisa le constituía un estorbo con tanto lazo y tanto encaje; y doña Claudia, expedita conocedora de los fueros de la ciencia, y además interesada en que el examen resultase concienzudo, tiró del pico de una cinta que enjaretaba el canesú, y, rápida, rebatió éste por debajo de ambos senos. -¡Así! –dijo-. ¡Los médicos son ustedes igual que confesores! [...] Admirado Esteban por la altiva

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<sup>232</sup> Doctor Jean-Marie Charcot popularized the theatrical display of female hysterics at the Parisian hospital *La Salpêtrière*, what he called a “museum of living pathology.” Elisabeth Bronfen in *The knotted subject. Hysteria and its discontents* describes Charcot's relationship with his patients as a “murky enmeshment of mutual consent, mutual deceit, and mutual desire among the physician and analyst, his patient, and the artists representing this exchange” (174). Although in the nineteenth century ailments such as hysteria had added eroticism to the relationship between female patient and doctor, however in the twentieth century this relationship is discursively elaborated in all its explicitness as we can see in Dr. Areny and Trigo's case.

solidez de aquellos senos, sonreíase de la comparación de doña Claudia.

(183)<sup>233</sup>

Besides being extremely erotic, the participation of Doña Claudia makes this passage deeply ironic, which is conveyed by Esteban's smile when she undresses her timid daughter forcefully. Her "conocimiento de los fueros de la ciencia," meaning her knowledge on how to undress for check ups but also her sexual relationships with previous doctors, exposes her daughter to Esteban's advances. Here eroticism is conveyed through the same rhetorical devices as Dr. Areny's and Albuquerque's, plus a touch of decadent sadism, for the check up is equated to the rape of a timid, terrified virgin. Metaphors of fire, burning, violent opposition of doctor and patient's body and looks, later to be soothed by the patient's sighing, breathlessness, gasping for air as if longing for a life-giving kiss, are obvious references to intercourse:

Por fatalidad de las violentas oposiciones, su cara y la de Inés, a veces, quedaban cerca. Obligada ella a retirarse el brazo de la frente, veíala encarnadísima, sofocadísima, pestañeando a ratos, para volver a cerrar los ojos en fuga y disimulo cuando al abrirlos se encontraba fijos los del médico; respiraba en un abrasado aliento que la dilatava la nariz y la entreabría la boca como el ansia de un beso apasionado e imposible [...] estaba siendo aquello, en fin, a pesar de Esteban, una semiposesión, una enorme violación de todos los

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<sup>233</sup> (He started to examine her. The touch of his hand made her shudder and blush, it was martyrdom; slowly he pulled out clear sounds of her well constituted thorax, which he could not consider abnormal. When he had to auscultate her, all the lace and embroidery of her shirt became a nuisance; doña Claudia, a great connoisseur of the privileges of science and wanting a conscientious check up, grabbed a ribbon which kept together Inés's bodice and quickly pulled it below the breasts. –Like that!- she said-. Doctors are the same as confessors! [...] Esteban was amazed at the proud firmness of those breasts and doña Claudia's comparison, he could not help but smiling)



pudores de la virgen... ¡Ah, sí, sí; crueldades de la médica profesión ejercidas por hombres en estas sensibilísimas muchachas! (183-4)<sup>234</sup>

In a similar way to Dr. Areny's periphrasis referring to the breasts as "ondulaciones palpitantes bajo los vaporosos y sederosos tejidos que mal encubren los lindos senos femeninos," Inés's chest is presented as a half-veiled surprise, covered in lace and ribbon, to be unwrapped by Esteban. The idea of attire as "engaño" (deceit) is used once more, but, unlike hygiene's portrayal of fashion as negative, here it has ambiguous connotations. Clothing is described positively as attractive but repressive: Inés's laced shirt hides a firm, well-formed body and makes it more enticing, but the shirt also oppresses it. In contrast to Inés's delicate ankles and wrists, which could be interpreted as angelic-like fragility, Inés's beauty represents power and strength repressed by her social, asphyxiating environment, which is causing her invalidism and neurosis. In this way, clothing comes to represent

the conflicts of emotions arising from the desire to satisfy the most elementary instincts and from the moral restraint imposed by society, education and religious environment. These conflicts, which produce a neurotic personality, are often scientifically defined. (Watkins 69)

Inés's laced shirt, skirt and corset hide the hallmarks of her beauty and strength, which are liberated by a close relationship with a male, in this case the sexual relationship with

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<sup>234</sup> (Unfortunately, due to the opposition of doctor and patient, sometimes Inés's face and his own remained very close. She was forced to withdraw her arm off her forehead, and he noticed she was extremely red, breathless, at times winking to close her eyes and escape the eyes of the doctor, fixed on her; her scorched breath dilated her nose, and she opened her mouth as if dying for a passionate but impossible kiss [...] the check up was becoming a semi-possession, a great violation of the virgin's shame.... Alas, the cruelties of the medical profession, exerted by men on these sensitive girls!)

the doctor: her “muslos poderosos,” “hombros anchos,” “firme escote,” “bien constituido tórax,” “espléndidos senos,” “la altiva solidez de aquellos senos” (183-4).<sup>235</sup> Echoing Freud and his theories on female hysteria, this liberation, letting her body out in the open, becomes the cure for Inés’s neurosis.

In contrast to the beauty of Inés’s unveiled and exposed body, the prudishness and mediocrity of bourgeois fashion reflect the distortion of beauty and sexual allure inculcated by bourgeois education and morals. Hence, Inés’s contact with Esteban during the check up rejuvenates and beautifies her, while before she did not care for her appearance:

Una vez más Esteban apreció lo importante del arreglo en las mujeres. Había gran diferencia entre aquella gitana desgredada de la alcoba, negra, casi fea, y la que llegaba ahora y ocupaba una silla frente a él, muy encorsetada bajo un sencillo y lindo traje, blanquísimos los dientes y con un griego peinado lleno de ondas y de rizos. (182)<sup>236</sup>

Besides being a reflection on the importance of female attire and grooming by comparing the “before” and “after” of Inés’s appearance, this change in Inés reflects the benefits of sexual interaction with a male.

Unlike Evelina, who fearlessly exposes her underwear and flesh before Esteban, Inés’s virginal timidity and dramatic circumstances entice Esteban to seduce his young patient. He justifies his “criminal” behavior with Inés with the idea of doctor as savior.

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<sup>235</sup> (powerful thighs, broad shoulders, firm neckline, well constituted torax, splendid breasts, the haughty solidity of her breasts)

<sup>236</sup> (Once more Esteban realized how important dress is for women. There was a great difference between that gypsy girl with ruffled hair in the room, black-skinned, almost ugly, and the woman who now sat before him, with a corset under a simple and beautiful dress, her teeth very white and wearing a Greek hairdo full of waves and curls)

Inés is a victim, a martyr of society, who is forced to live in the countryside and will also be forced to waste her loving and sexual potential to marry a mentally challenged, infertile cousin for economic reasons. In Esteban's view, by awakening her sexuality and deflowering her, he saves her from consumption and hysteria and gives her the opportunity to have a fulfilling relationship before this mock marriage:

Afortunadamente, la virgen no lo era, y habíase anticipado a cobrar sus recibos de crédito a la vida, extendidos en papel de amor y juventud. ¡Sí, de amor!... De amor-delito, en un mundo donde, por lo visto, resultaban civismos y virtudes envidiables la venta de una hija y el traidor asesinato de un alma de ilusión. (249)<sup>237</sup>

This typical manual-like attitude from the doctor in relation to the female patient, being a poetic savior and guide, is subverted in the final scene of the novel, the celebration after Inés's wedding with her cousin at Evelina's chalet. After Esteban's mixed scientific-romantic rationalization of his behavior, he has second thoughts and reflects upon his future with his wife Jacinta, keeping Inés on the side as a lover and continuing to work as a doctor:

Y bien.... ¿Era él un hombre tan vulgar como los demás, como Juan Alfonso, como los duques, con la diferencia de necesitar un poco de alma en sus amantes.... o era, más que ninguno, y a pretexto de bellezas o de almas, un definitivo sinvergüenza? [...] El médico rural, que poco a poco, curando a unos, estafando a otros, e impávido ante los que tuviesen la ocurrencia

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<sup>237</sup> (Fortunately, she was not a virgin any more, and she had cashed her credit from life, a credit issued in love and youth. Yes, love! Love-crime in a world where it seems that selling a daughter and the treacherous killing of a soul and its illusions are civic, virtuous and desirable)

desdichada de morirse (en todo, claro es, igual que sus colegas), llegaría a convertirse en una especie de “repartidor-práctico-automático” de purgas y quinina para cuantos pusieran en juego sus resortes, metiéndole en el bolsillo medio duro; el buen burgués, en fin, que iría engordando e iríase enriqueciéndose, satisfecho de los eructos de sus buenas digestiones, de su buena jaca, de su buen reloj de oro, de su caza de perdiz y su querida. (251)<sup>238</sup>

Initially, Esteban abhors the idea of becoming a bourgeois “hombre doblez,” a soul-less, morally debased, money and sex driven automaton, resembling the coldness and materialism of the female “man eater.”

Evelina’s power and political influence in Castellar and Madrid, on the other hand, was gained through her overt and sincere display of beauty and sexuality. At this moment, she comes to Esteban’s mind as the only example of honesty in Castellar.

Towns and cities alike become

conglomerados absurdos de bestialidad e hipocresía, cuyo cobarde servilismo [de las gentes], en ésta [aldea] desveló con sobradísima amplitud el paso de Evelina, de una imbécil prostituta, que aún en su física beldad ostentaba, de la vida verdadera, algo más potente y menos falso. (253)<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> (Well, was he a vulgar man like everybody else, like Juan Alfonso, like the dukes, only different in the sense that he needed his lovers to have a little bit of a soul, or was he, more than anybody else and with the excuse of beauty and soul, a true crook? [...] The rural doctor who, little by little, curing some, swindling others, and remaining cold about those who had the unfortunate idea of dying (obviously, acting in the same way as his colleagues) would turn into a kind of “practical- automatic-dispenser” of purges and quinine for those who wound up his mechanism, putting a coin in his pocket; the good bourgeois man, who would get fat and rich, burping and satisfied with his good digestions, his good horse, his good gold watch, his partridge hunting and his lover)

<sup>239</sup> (absurd conglomerates of bestiality and hypocrisy, whose cowardly servility [of the people] in this [hamlet] was widely unveiled by Evelina, a stupid prostitute who, even in the ostentation of her beauty showed something more powerful and less fake in life)

The final scene, in which Esteban becomes Jacinta's and Inés's guide in the carriage which leads them back to town, emphasizes Esteban's malleable morals. With both women in the carriage, it is apparent that Esteban consciously and willingly chooses to become an actor in the bourgeois farce he seemed to reject at first: "Esteban, que había rectificado algunos puntos de su filosofía rectificable, y que había aprendido a guiar perfectamente [la berlina], la guiaba" (254).<sup>240</sup>

*El médico rural* covers many of the most heated debates revolving around women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries often dealt with by hygienist doctors, philosophers and priests. The fear of female empowerment, of women's sexual and economic liberation, and the distrust of foreign influence is embodied by the figure of Republican Evelina. Her power resides in her beauty, which supports her connections with Madrid's political and social elite; as a consequence, she needs to have a thorough knowledge of fashion trends and cosmetics. Distancing his novel from traditional hygiene literature, Trigo presents the positive side of the cosmetic display of female beauty in order to subvert its traditional ties to deceit and corruption. In this way, the author endorses the proud and free display of female sexuality. Evelina is linked to openness and sincerity in comparison to the double standards of her high class and middle class lovers. In contrast to Evelina's splendor, this moral and physical mediocrity is represented by her untidy and unclean bourgeois "opponents" Jacinta and Doña Claudia.

Trigo's emphasis on liberating female sexuality from bourgeois repression is conveyed by presenting a new female beauty standard based on physical strength and

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<sup>240</sup> (Esteban, who had rectified some points in this malleable doctrine and had learned to drive the carriage, drove)

firmness, in contrast to the nineteenth century female invalid. Unlike traditional hygiene manuals, in *El médico rural* invalidism is not an essential quality of women, but it is imposed on them by bourgeois corrupted morality. Open sexuality or the “liberation” of Inés’s firm body from the constraint of her laced shirt is depicted as having the potential for curing personal and social illness: her neurosis and the mock marriage with her handicapped cousin. Thus, the need for female sexual emancipation is symbolized in Inés’s case by small and firm breasts which are connected to pleasure, not maternity.

Seemingly early twentieth century Spanish hygienists-cosmetologists offered women their “state-of-the-art” advice as to free them from superstitious, unhealthy customs. Such was the case of not bathing or the use of garments which oppressed the female body like the corset or high heels. However, these doctors always swayed towards tradition: Dr. Sánchez Otero supposedly intended to rid women of bothersome and dangerous ailments during and after pregnancy, but recommended four to six pregnancies as a preventive measure against cancer. Dr. Areny condemned the use of beautification to express female desires and sexuality while, at the same time, he eroticized the female body as an irresistible “man-catching” magnet.

In contrast to hygiene’s ambivalence, Trigo questioned the role of the doctor as guide through the merging of traditionally opposed fields as were scientific objectivity and luscious eroticism. In traditional hygiene manuals doctors became the role models who warned their readers against sexual excess. In *El medico rural*, however, Trigo criticized social hypocrisy by means of eroticism, cosmetics and attire in order to underscore the ambivalent relationship between male doctor and female patient. The idea of frivolous artificiality versus desirable simplicity and naturalness, applied exclusively to women by

hygienists, was here applied to the experts themselves to suggest their corruption and double morals. Doctors became actors in a marketing farce for which their attire and accessories, their language, pose and medical instruments, were used to achieve fame and economic success. In contrast, female beauty, grooming and fashion were equated to sincerity.

Esteban's competitors were depicted as "osadísimos farsantes," "carniceros, barbarotes, capaces de todo por cobrar unas pesetas" (166-7), handsomely dressed in riding attire as "kings" or "princes" ready for the hunt (165).<sup>241</sup> Language became the element which exposed their pseudoscientific farce and ultimate ignorance: these doctors "doraban su ignorancia en gentil palabrería" and used "frasecitas y sentencias en francés."<sup>242</sup> One of the most blatant quacks, Dr. Astreaga, carried his luggage during home visits in order to change clothing five or six times a day. He also employed elaborate, dangerous treatments to "charm" rich customers:

Dotado de verbosidad y don de gentes, empezó por instalar su gabinete de radioterapia a pleno lujo, con tratamiento de faradización contra la neurastenia y de causticación con nieve de ácido carbónico contra el lupus, y cautivó, de paso a tres o cuatro ricos [...] soltaba enormes disparates, aludía a la mama como a una glándula de "estructura tubulosa," no arracimada; le llamaba *tejido cederal* al tejido celular, y confundía con la trinitrina la eserina. (165-6)<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> (shameless quacks) (barbarous butchers, capable of anything to get some money)

<sup>242</sup> (they coated their ignorance in beautiful palaver) (cute sentences in French)

<sup>243</sup> (Gifted with verbosity and the ability to get on well with people, he started by setting up a luxurious radiotherapy office, with faradization treatments against neurasthenia, and caustic treatments with carbonic acid against lupus, which charmed two or three rich men [...] he spoke great nonsense, he called the breast a "tubulous structure," not clustered; he called cellular tissue *cedular tissue*, and confused eserine with trinitrine)

Either as a “estructura tubulosa” or a “limón erguido,” the language used to refer to the female breast in *Cultivo de la estética de la mujer* and *El médico rural* not only reveals the importance of discourse in the self-creation of the hygienist as an expert, but also the fictional nature of the beauty and moral standards these experts attempted to impose on early twentieth century Spanish women.



## Chapter 4

### The Spanish Second Republic and the Civil War: angels or soldiers?

In this chapter, I analyze the recurrence of nineteenth century themes and literary tropes in manuals on hygiene and eugenics from the nineteen thirties such as Dr. Vital Aza's *¿Por qué la mujer no tiene hijos?* (1934). These male-authored manuals clashed with the Second Republic's fostering of women's visibility, and the granting of women's rights such as the vote and divorce. I explore how female anarchist doctors such as Dr. Amparo Poch y Gascón in her manual *La vida sexual de la mujer: pubertad-noviazgo-matrimonio* (1932) and female anarchist writers and politicians such as Federica Montseny in her novella *Una mujer y dos hombres* (1932) aggressively discredited the flowery rhetoric and traditional ideals of womanhood transmitted by bourgeois male doctors. For these female writers, bourgeois language became a tool which obscured knowledge while anarchist straight-forward language became a way of enlightening women and making them ready for social change. Nevertheless, from 1936 to 1939 the Spanish Civil War put to a test the Republic's achievements in matters of women's rights. Dreams of gender equality were shattered during and after the war when the same poetic discourses in nineteenth century hygiene manuals were used in both bands to supervise women's efforts, and to channel *milicianas* back to rearguard work. To underscore these contradictions, I focus on the rhetoric of female sacrifice and inherent destiny used by anarchist Dr. Félix Martí Ibáñez in the war pamphlet *Mensaje eugénico a la mujer* (1937).

La transformación ha de ser radical; pero también penosa. La herencia, la educación, el ambiente, forman un caparazón denso dentro del que la mariposa aletea con impaciencia de salir. Somos el producto de muchos siglos y estos no pueden echarse fuera en un instante [...]. Reconozcamos que la generalidad de las mujeres españolas sólo raramente sienten el cambio. Al presentirlo se resisten, se agarran con fuerza a todas sus tradiciones, a todas sus *virtudes*; aún nos pintan cuadros de falsa ternura hogareña que ya no sirven por estrechos; aún nos hacen simulacro de feminidad con su actitud pasiva o inconveniente. De esta masa de mujeres hay que decir verdades dolorosas. Quieren hincar los pies en el suelo, pero ya marcharán. [...] Ya se abrió un portillo en sus gastadas piedras [de la sociedad burguesa] y todo el edificio de su moral caerá naturalmente cuando los credos de la liberación estén de veras en la cabeza y en el corazón de las gentes. (Amparo Poch y Gascón, *La vida sexual de la mujer* 1932, 3-4)<sup>244</sup>

During the nineteen thirties, *consciente* was one of the most repeated words in Spain, used in conferences, speeches, magazines and manuals to reflect a new, progressive attitude towards the democratization of knowledge after Primo de Rivera's dictatorship.

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<sup>244</sup> All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.  
(The transformation must be radical, but also difficult. Heredity, education, the environment form a cocoon in which the butterfly impatiently flaps her wings, anxious to come out. We are the product of many centuries and we cannot discard this immediately [...] We have to admit that the majority of Spanish women rarely feel these changes. They resist, they firmly grasp their traditions, all their *virtues*; they still play roles full of fake, homely tenderness which are not valid any more for they are narrow; they still carry out a simulacrum of femininity with their passive or inconvenient attitude. We must tell a painful truth about this mass of women. They want to root to the ground, but they will march. [...] A door has opened in the worn out stones of this building [of bourgeois society] and its morality will fall naturally when the creed of liberation truly comes to the heads and hearts of the people)

The idea of consciousness was underlying in nineteenth century and early twentieth century hygiene and cosmetic literature: the individual, especially women as caretakers of the family, needed to be conscious about how her surroundings affected health, beauty and morals. Likewise, consciousness about bodily functions and the body's basic needs was necessary in order to abide by the rules of hygienic moderation, which was essential to achieve and retain physical and moral health. This knowledge was presented as possessed exclusively by doctors but made available to the general public through the affordable and reader-friendly manual. Nevertheless, we have seen how the altruistic role and empowering potential of prescriptive literature or "self-help" literature are questionable. Manuals represented a valuable source of income and social power for the male experts, who took advantage of the bourgeois fear of physical and mental deterioration, epidemics and germs embodied by the working masses. The experts also exploited the fear of cultural change by depicting feminists or the "frivolous" modern woman as unnatural and unpatriotic. Furthermore, gender and nation were also branded as instruments to legitimate, authorize and give solidity to the somewhat ambiguous and frivolous work of the hygiene and beauty expert, a frivolousness implied by the democratization of knowledge and its commercialization.

In the nineteen thirties, hygiene literature was reshaped thanks to the more progressive atmosphere during the Spanish Second Republic (1931-1936), especially during the leftist turn in power from 1931 until 1933. At this moment, renowned doctors in the fields of endocrinology and sexology such as Gregorio Marañón devalued traditional hygiene as "too idealist," a process which naturalist authors sparked in the last years of the nineteenth century. In contrast to hygiene's traditional prescriptions of sexual

economy and physical discipline, Marañón admitted that it was almost impossible to submit the “arbitrary and gigantic force of human instinct” to hygienic rules (*Amor, conveniencia y eugenesia* 1929, 102). The ingenuity of hygienists was embodied by their “novel like” flowery style, which Marañón attempted to discard in his text. Marriage, a topic dealt with widely by old-style hygienists, was seen at this moment through a rational lens which gave priority to the genetic well-being of descendants, not the well being of progenitors. Before money, position, even physical or spiritual love:

Es la conveniencia de la salud física y espiritual de los hijos. Me da cierto reparo hablar así, porque tengo una gran prevención a los higienistas que predicán las ventajas de la salud y a los moralistas que encarecen la utilidad de ser virtuoso; de un modo tan ingenuo como podrían predicarse las ventajas de ser millonario. (*Amor, conveniencia y eugenesia* 101)<sup>245</sup>

Marañón’s remark “hablar así” to refer to children’s physical and spiritual well being indicates that, once more, flowery style in medical popular literature became an issue of dissent within medical circles during the nineteen thirties. Popular literature about health experienced a turn towards a focus on *eugenics* and sexuality, coerced although not totally suppressed during Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship.<sup>246</sup> For Spanish eugenicists in the thirties, marriage was neither a “novelesque” idyllic panacea for all evils and ailments of the body and soul as hygienists had affirmed in the past, nor should marriage be discussed in romantic terms but seriously and rationally. If the progenitors were not

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<sup>245</sup> (is the physical and spiritual health of the children. I am somewhat embarrassed when I speak this way, for I distrust hygienists who preach the advantages of health and moralists who overvalue the benefits of being virtuous; in such a naïve way, the same way you preach about the advantages of being a millionaire)

<sup>246</sup> “The science of the body explicitly concerned with questions of population, degeneration, health of the species” (Cleminson 17).

physically and mentally apt and prepared, if they were “unconscious,” marriage became almost a crime against their weakened and ailing offspring. This was a cultural battle against taboo, popular ignorance and hypocrisy in which the manual and the magazine played a crucial role.

Although in the nineteen teens and twenties women’s sexuality was acknowledged, in most cases it came under the tutelage of male doctors and the male sexual partner. A radical change in the hygiene literature of the thirties was the fact that women daringly took ground from the male experts and wrote on taboo topics such as eugenics and sexuality, as in the case of anarchist doctor and activist Amparo Poch y Gascón (1902-1968) and young socialist activist Hildegart (1914-1933).<sup>247</sup> Dr. Poch y Gascón, an advisor to Federica Montseny, who became the first female minister in the history of Western Europe in 1936, embodied a promise of change for women which sparked during the Republic. Being an anarchist, for Dr. Poch y Gascón *consciente* in relation to women did not simply mean making medical knowledge on female sexuality available to them in order to preserve women’s “delicate and fragile balance” and, along with it, the

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<sup>247</sup> For a detailed analysis of Hildegart’s trajectory see Allison Sinclair’s *Sex and society in early twentieth-century Spain. Hildegart Rodríguez and the World League for Sexual Reform*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007. Hildegart’s most famous works on sex and eugenics were *El problema eugénico: punto de vista de una mujer moderna* (1930), *La limitación de la prole: un deber del proletariado consciente* (1930), *La revolución sexual* (1931), *Educación sexual* (1931) (Sinclair 68). At age seventeen Hildegart became the founder and secretary of the Spanish branch of the World League for Sexual Reform (WLSR), with Dr. Gregorio Marañón as the president.

In this chapter I will focus on Amparo Poch y Gascón, an anarchist doctor and activist who became one of the founders of the anarchist women’s group *Mujeres Libres* (1936-9), created to exclusively address women’s concerns regarding female education, work, maternity and health ignored by the general anarchist movement. According to Martha A. Ackelsberg, *Mujeres Libres* became “necessary if women were to emerge as fully equal members of the libertarian community” (Ackelsberg 65). In 1936, with the outburst of the Civil War, Federica Montseny appointed her director of social assistance at the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance, focusing on maternal care and the social rehabilitation of prostitutes (Ackelsberg 29, 134,135). I will analyze her sex education manual *La vida sexual de la mujer* (1932).

status quo. For Dr. Poch y Gascón culture, knowledge and the manual were to make women conscious of the oppression exerted on them by men and by themselves. Women who held on to tradition and bourgeois, angelic sexual standards, what the author called “falsa ternura hogareña que ya no sirve por estrecha” or “simulacro de feminidad” were the examples of this self-oppression. For female anarchists, freedom for women came from the elimination of bourgeois sexual hypocrisy, which placed women in a subservient position towards men for sexual exploitation. Dr. Poch y Gascón’s manual *La vida sexual de la mujer* became a way to awaken women’s full potential and self-esteem without religious, bourgeois bias, what she called a “fuente contaminada,” “moral toda de escondrijos y malicia” (8).<sup>248</sup>

¿Dónde y cuándo se ha dicho a las mujeres –racionalmente- nada de lo que es su cuerpo, de las fases críticas de su vida, de las precauciones que deben adoptarse, de la significación de los fenómenos más vistosos, de nada, en fin, serio, claro, puro, sino envuelto en picardía, como si los órganos sexuales hicieran causa aparte de los demás y su presencia fuera una impureza y un horrible misterio? (*La vida sexual de la mujer* 9)<sup>249</sup>

Hygienists such as Monlau, Campá and Sánchez Otero dealt with these stages in the life of a woman. However, the advice given by male hygienists and the style which coated them created the fiction of women’s inability to function outside of their traditional roles as wives and mothers. Dr. Poch y Gascón depicted the bourgeois way to address the

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<sup>248</sup> (a polluted fountain, a moral full of hiding places and malice)

<sup>249</sup> (When and where has anybody told women –rationally- anything about their body, the critical stages in their life, the precautions they must adopt, the meaning of the most important [bodily] events, all in all, anything serious, clear, pure about these topics, not surrounded by craftiness, as if sexual organs were something else and their existence was impure and a horrible mystery?)

female body and sexuality as “malicia,” “sendas extraviadas y oscuras” or the clouding of something natural such as sexuality with the flowery language of idealization or mystery and shame.<sup>250</sup> Instead, Dr. Poch y Gascón advocated discussing women’s life cycles in clear, ideologically unloaded, rational terms.

Traditionally, male, bourgeois hygienists had linked women’s knowledge of their body to the benefit of others: the husband, the unborn and born children, society and the nation. Many anarchists, on the other hand, advocated a return to nature, fresh air, exercise, healthy eating, practicing sex and the elimination of alcohol and tobacco but not as a way to provide strong and able citizens to the nation and State. Through creating a conscience of the injustices endorsed by the Church and the State and advocating natural living, anarchists strove to eliminate power structures based on domination to go back to a brotherhood of all humanity based on equality. This process started with the individual, who had to cultivate himself/herself to later use his/her knowledge and potential for the well-being of the community, whose members were all in equal terms to one another. In the process, the conscious individual supposedly did not lose his/her own individuality (Ackelsberg 17, 19, 26-27). In this way, individual liberation and awareness became a crucial first step towards the wider liberation and prosperity of humanity.

If, from an anarchist point of view, bourgeois hygiene manuals made servants out of the female readers by reinforcing the need for the expert’s advice and women’s inferiority to men, Dr. Poch y Gascón addressed the reader in equal terms and blamed woman’s subordination not to nature, but culture: “la herencia, la educación, el ambiente, forman un caparazón denso dentro del que la mariposa aletea con impaciencia de salir.

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<sup>250</sup> (malice, dark and stray roads)

Somos el producto de muchos siglos y estos no pueden echarse fuera en un instante” (3).<sup>251</sup> Two of the enslaving “cocoon” which trapped women in a spiral of domination were sex and traditional marriage. For female anarchist organizations such as *Mujeres Libres*, knowledge of *eugenics* (reproduction, heredity and methods of conception and contraception) and conscious free unions between the sexes, without the meddling of Church and State, were the way to women’s equality against the traditional idea of physical and economic possession of the male partner over the female.

Awareness helped women struggle against their sexual enslavement and enjoy sexuality without the fear of getting pregnant. By knowing their bodies and the mechanisms of reproduction and heredity, women could make informed decisions about when they wanted to have children, how many and who would be a physically and spiritually fulfilling partner to have them with. Nevertheless, the question of not having children at all seemingly was not an option for both male or female anarchist authors. In the case of female anarchists, this absence indicated that they valued maternity as part of the natural life of a woman. This similarity with bourgeois hygiene manuals was also endorsed by male anarchists, whose views on women’s roles in the anarchist endeavor were visibly contradictory for they were inclined to tradition. Although female anarchists viewed female emancipation as a key element in the anarchist revolution for the creation of a new society, most male anarchists considered female emancipation secondary to class struggle, and treated it as a probable future consequence of class emancipation.<sup>252</sup>

Taking into account the gender and the political agenda of the manual author is essential to understand the contradictions in progressive manuals on sexuality for

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<sup>251</sup> See note 231 for the English translation.

<sup>252</sup> See note 234 on the anarchist group *Mujeres Libres*.



bourgeois and anarchist women. These manuals thrive on the idea of the necessity of educating females in years of radical political and cultural change in Spain such as the Second Republic and the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Supposedly, these works attempted to make women conscious of the political and social environment of their time, which was ripe for advances such as the female vote, divorce and abortion, instead of clipping their wings through indoctrination. Nevertheless, the process of female culturization was not free from ambiguities springing from the reformer's gender, political background and his/her personal interpretation of gender ideals. Ambivalence was particularly acute when reforms affecting women's traditional mission as mothers were at stake, for example in matters of contraception. In the case of bourgeois and anarchist female authors, their manuals and magazine articles conveyed how they valued the acquisition of knowledge on politics, women's rights and eugenics as a matter of self-fulfillment. These authors, on the other hand, never questioned the importance of maternity in women's lives, and always tried to balance their empowerment with the individual's contribution to the betterment of the collective. In this way, and not unlike traditional hygienists, these women still considered "selfishness" and "frivolousness" a stigma which haunted women specifically.

According to Allison Sinclair and Richard Cleminson, contradictions were particularly obvious in the case of *eugenics*, which became an umbrella or a "chameleon which appealed to different collectivities," conservative or liberal (Cleminson 9):

The coming of the Second Republic made much possible [on the discussion of eugenics], but the delicate political balance between different political and social groups, and the fact that both conservative and traditional aims were to

be found among the reformers themselves, meant that the sex reform movement of the 1930s was set on a course of conflict and difficulty.

(Sinclair 9)

The idea of strengthening the population physically and mentally, typically used by conservatives such as hygienist Dr. Sánchez Otero to “preserve” Spain’s cultural and racial legacy, also appealed to leftist and anarchist groups as an empowering tool to break the vicious cycle of misery of the working class, in the case of anarchists, and female sexual domination in the case of bourgeois feminists. Yet, these groups perpetuated the traditional bias of conservative racial discourse for, despite seeming political and cultural reform, women continued to be portrayed as mothers and caretakers no matter they were conscious and able to control the number and time of childbirths.

The manual author’s gender in relation to tone and style becomes pivotal when analyzing this contradictory stance towards women’s rights and duties in the society of the Second Republic. According to Deborah Tannen, in linguistic interactions between males and females, the male *genderlect* aims to achieve power and status while women approach relationships and communication, not only as a way to assert one’s individuality and status, but also as

a network of connections. In this world [of women], conversations are negotiations for closeness in which people try to seek and give confirmation and support, and to reach consensus [...]. Women are also concerned with achieving status and avoiding failure, but these are not the goals they are focused on all the time, and they tend to pursue them in guise of connection.

(*You just don’t understand* 24-5)

In contrast, many males have a tendency to use imperatives and orders when addressing women for

In a world of status, independence is key, because a primary means of establishing status is to tell others what to do, and taking orders is a marker of low status. Though all humans need both intimacy and independence, women tend to focus on the first and men on the second. (*You just don't understand* 26)

Similarly, in the written interaction between male manual writers and female readers, bourgeois and anarchist male writers alike were on the conservative side as far as women were concerned. Following hygiene's tradition, these doctors paternalistic depicted women's sexuality by either idealizing or ridiculing it and by using an aggressive, imposing tone. All these discursive devices made apparent that hygiene's traditional idea of male "tutelage" over women was resilient in the thirties.

The male doctor continued to set the path bourgeois and anarchist women needed to follow. Bourgeois authors such as Dr. Vital Aza in *¿Por qué la mujer no tiene hijos?* (1934) acted as women's tutor in charge of preserving women's reproductive health and traditional motherly roles. Anarchist doctor Félix Martí Ibáñez in *Mensaje eugénico a la mujer* (1937) used the idea of female frivolity to channel *milicianas* (female militia women) back to rearguard, "more feminine" activities during the war. He portrayed women's direct intervention in the war as a threat to the male soldier's sexual health and to final victory. Several leftist, male authored, emergency pamphlets during war time echoed these same fears. Such was the case of Dr. Astro *Consejos a los milicianos* (1936) which struggled between depicting women as *compañeras* in the fight for victory, as the

salvation from venereal disease through marriage, or also a threat of contagion to the male *miliciano*.

Bourgeois feminists and female anarchists were more radical than their male counterparts rhetorically and ideologically. As Leslie Merced affirms about turn of the century women's literature, certain rhetorical devices helped women create a sense of female community in order "to successfully insert a female perspective into the polemic concerning traditional gender relations" (*Writing in the raw* 6). Some examples were addressing a female audience by using a personal tone in order to suggest equality and enhance acceptance of change (*Writing in the raw* 5). According to Roberta Johnson, gender not only affects the style of literary works, but the way the author approaches fiction, his/her perspective on the potential use of such fiction, and the choice of themes. Such was the case of the attitude towards change, the past and the future in early twentieth century. Male conservative and liberal authors tended to literary elitism and individualism, stylistic obscurity and "living in the past." Literarily, they conveyed their nostalgia for the grandeur of the Spain of old times, while women writers eagerly became activists and

resisted the historical impulse and the obsession with the past, preferring to imagine a Spain struggling to modify traditional constraints. Women chose to depict a contemporary Spain and to imagine a future in which new social configurations would be possible. (*Gender and nation* 3).<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> Johnson studies male modernists, noventayochistas, writers of the *Generación del 14* and *Generación del 27* in contrast to female writers from the same period such as Carmen de Burgos, Concha Espina, Blanca de los Ríos, María Martínez Sierra, Margarita Nelken, Federica Montseny, Rosa Chacel, etc.

In the same fashion, although male doctors reflected women's aspirations during the Spanish Second Republic, in hygiene manuals and war pamphlets they clung to an essential female past and looked at the new woman with distrust or even ridiculed her.<sup>254</sup> As a contrast to this male perception, the novella *Una mujer y dos hombres* (July 1932) by anarchist Federica Montseny, presented an anarchist model of "new woman" which was not as a threat to society, but a strong-minded, able bodied and independent heroine. Contrary to Dr. Martí Ibañez's vision of women's position in the rearguard of conflict, Montseny's heroines struggled bravely in the public sphere to create their own individuality and help the anarchist revolution. Instead of reducing women's sphere of action to an angelic motherly role, female authored manuals on sexuality and novellas expanded this sphere and encouraged their readers to develop their full potential in the new society of the Republic or, in the case of anarchists, in the new egalitarian society to come. The democratization of culture was the key element but, unlike past manuals and magazines for women, this process had to be free of the religious and gender bias conveyed by their flowery, paternalistic style.

The first two years of the Second Spanish Republic seemed to bring back to life the promise of change and progress of the new century, a promise whose wings had been clipped during the Bourbon Restoration and Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. In the case of women, the leftist coalition in power from 1931 until 1933 took groundbreaking

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<sup>254</sup> One example was the reaction of many liberal and conservative males against the *Lyceum Club*, founded in 1926 by María de Maeztu and Victoria Kent. According to Roberta Johnson, it was the first women's organization not sponsored by the Church. This club gave women the opportunity to explore and develop their intellectual talents, give and listen to conferences. Some of the male intellectuals and artists invited to speak at this club, such as Jacinto Benavente and Rafeal Alberti, either rejected the invitation as a joke or ridiculed the members. Alberti, for example, gave his lecture ambiguously dressed as a clown. In Catholic newspapers, the Church portrayed members of this club as "locas, criminales," "fémimas excéntricas y desequilibradas" (crazy, criminal, eccentric and deranged females) and immoral women who showed their legs and endangered the institution of the family (Johnson 27-29).

measures in their favor. A brand new constitution was crafted which granted the female vote, legalized divorce and enforced female work by offering civil servant positions and positions within the government, for example in the Parliament. In these first years, the Republic also attempted an egalitarian distribution of land for peasants, enforced laic education, did not endorse an official religion for Spain, and limited military promotions. In this way, the Republic threatened the traditional power of the Catholic Church and the military, and challenged cultural prejudice against women's political and economic participation outside of the home.

Socialist lawyers Margarita Nelken and Victoria Kent, and Republican lawyer Clara Campoamor, were the first women who occupied a seat in Parliament in the history of Spain. Although Kent and Nelken were against the female vote, for they did not consider women to be prepared intellectually, Campoamor and earlier feminist activists such as essayist, novelist and journalist Carmen de Burgos were crucial in the granting of the vote. Magazines were essential in presenting these women as role models for the new Spanish woman to follow, spreading knowledge on Republican reforms and preparing and educating women on how to benefit from these reforms to the fullest extent. This was achieved by creating what Tannen calls "a network of connections," embodied by magazine female directors, editors and contributors, who Bussy Genevois affirms

Tienen la particularidad de fomentar un progreso tanto individual como colectivo en las circunstancias de marginación cultural, jurídica y política que atañen a la inmensa mayoría de la población femenina [...] El verdadero

denominador común entre las directoras es la enseñanza: la que reciben y la que un nuevo sistema legislativo favorable les permite divulgar. (194, 197)<sup>255</sup>

Female readers as a collective were encouraged by their female counterparts to acknowledge their own importance within society (the first step towards emancipation) and to develop their full potential as individuals. In this way, illustrated bourgeois magazines such as *Mujer, Revista Ilustrada Semanal dedicada exclusivamente a la mujer* (1931) and *Cultura Integral y Femenina: la revista de unión social para una obra común de cultura integral y femenina* (1933)<sup>256</sup> were dedicated to women exclusively and presented them with information about women's political and legal situation with the change of government. These magazines published articles on the vote and the grounds to ask for a divorce, about old and newly created female organizations which fought for women's rights, together with information on health and beauty, nutrition, fashion and sports, short stories, history, news, etc.<sup>257</sup>

*Cultura* was more encyclopedic and didactic, even providing women with a wide range of knowledge which would encourage them to pursue a degree or a profession and make women independent financially:

MUJERES, ESTA ES VUESTRA REVISTA. Vamos, pues, a ocuparnos nosotras mismas de nosotras. Para adquirir ese saber que nos falta, había que encontrar al maestro enciclopédico y abnegado que visitara todos los hogares y

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<sup>255</sup> (They are special in the sense that they foster individual and collective progress in circumstances of cultural, legal and political marginalization which concern the immense majority of the female population [...]) The true link between female directors is educating: the education they receive and which they are allowed to divulgate)

<sup>256</sup> (Woman, Illustrated Weekly Magazine exclusively dedicated to women; Integral Feminine Culture: the magazine of social unity for the common cause of integral, feminine culture)

<sup>257</sup> Most contributors for *Mujer*, directed by Santiago Camarasa, were females. Although Camarasa did intervene in the editorial process, it was mostly left in the hands of the editorial chief Ignacia Olavarría (Bussy-Genevois 196).

llegara a los pueblos más apartados; había que construir la escuela inmensa donde se dieran todas las enseñanzas que necesitamos, y, por fin, había que buscar al consejero cariñoso que nos ayudase con su experiencia y su saber [...]. CULTURA nos enseñará, enumerándolo sin orden, puericultura, medicina práctica, derecho práctico, legislación femenina, literatura mundial, sociología, política internacional, cuestiones de hacienda y de la moneda, las leyes de la biología, la historia de las civilizaciones, francés, inglés, taquigrafía, aritmética, cómo se repuja el cuero, teneduría de libros, conocimientos artísticos, la vida de la inmensidad de los cielos, cirugía estética, masaje, hidrocultura, heliocultura, la ciencia de cuidar el cutis y de ser hermosa, la ciencia de la comida o dietética, métodos para adelgazar o para engordar, los conocimientos necesarios para ser enfermera y para que podamos cuidar nuestra salud y la salud de los nuestros, etcétera, etc. [...] ‘Para vuestra salud y para vuestra redención cerebral y económica, mujeres, leed CULTURA.’

(María A. Brisso 8)<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> (WOMEN, THIS IS YOUR MAGAZINE. Hence, let’s take care of ourselves. In order to acquire the knowledge we were lacking, in the past we had to find a encyclopedic, abnegated teacher who visited all homes and the farthest of towns; we had to build an immense school to learn all the teachings we needed and, finally, we had to find the loving adviser who helped us with his experience and knowledge [...] CULTURA will teach us pediatrics, practical medicine, practical law, laws on women, world literature, sociology, international politics, issues of revenue and economics, the laws of biology, history of civilizations, French, English, stenography, arithmetic, how to emboss leather, book keeping, art, the life and immensity of the heavens, plastic surgery, massage, hydro-culture, helio-culture, the science of beauty, the science of food and diet, ways to put on or lose weight, the necessary knowledge to become a nurse so we can take care of the health of our relatives, etc, etc. [...] For your health and your economic and mental redemption, women, read CULTURA)

Issue 1, January 1933. According to Danièle Bussy Genevois in “La función de directora en los periódicos femeninos (1862-1936) o la ‘sublime misión,’ ” *Cultura*’s chief editor María Brisso was an incessant worker and an admired, self-taught journalist who also contributed articles to *Mujer* (203).



It is very interesting how the figure of the male “maestro” or “el consejero cariñoso” reminiscent of the hygienist doctor and manual writer, the male expert, in theory was kindly put aside by female self-instruction, by “us women,” nosotras. Women, thanks to this magazine, taught themselves: “vamos, pues a ocuparnos nosotras mismas de nosotras.”<sup>259</sup> However, the director of *Cultura Integral y Femenina* was a male, J. Aubin Rieu-Vernet, and articles on health and hygiene were mostly provided by male doctors, Spanish and foreign. The exception was a Doctora Ana, who gave advice on posture as a way to express social class in “Señora, hay que aprender a andar, una mujer revela su clase por su sólo modo de andar.”<sup>260</sup> This anachronic article was reminiscent of nineteenth century manuals on ladies’ manners and clashed with the purported mission of social renewal of the magazine.

Renowned Spanish gynecologist Dr. Recaséns provided an article on “What every pregnant woman must know;” Dr Julio Ortega, Consejero de Sanidad, on hygiene of the home against tuberculosis; Professor Forgue on breast cancer; Julián de la Villa, doctor of anatomy in Madrid’s *School of Medicine*, on physiology and muscles; Professor Pinard on first aid on newborns; Dr H.D. on female menopause and the correspondent male “edad crítica.” This male predominance demonstrates that there was still a long way to go for women in health-related professions apart from nursing, but it was the hope of the magazine’s chief editor, María Brisso, that the knowledge acquired in *Cultura* would give women the chance to achieve health and intellectual and economic independence or “redención cerebral y económica,” as she metaphorically called it.

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<sup>259</sup> (let’s take care of ourselves)

<sup>260</sup> (Madam, one must learn how to walk, a woman reveals her class just by her way of walking)

Since female aspirations to certain professions was still a serious transgression of traditional gender roles, articles by women on topics such as female work used rhetorical devices employed by previous generations to mitigate their gender role subversion.<sup>261</sup> Hence, female article writers continued to emphasize that women's newly gained strength went together with tenderness and the instinct to help others. This would function as "adulation" of the female readers by praising female superior sensitivity (Merced 5). Thus, one of the most used examples of "new woman" during the Republic, lawyer Victoria Kent, was described as a strong and determined heroine but also very feminine:

¿Es dura esta mujer, de espíritu y de fisonomía? ¿Hay que temer en ella poca ductibilidad para hacerse propicia a la ternura? No, no hay que temerla. Unas flores que pasen ante su vista, despiertan la delicadeza de su espíritu. Es concisa de palabra y de gesto, cierto, pero se dilatan sus sentimientos comprensivos para adentrarse como vidente hasta el corazón de los que en ella esperan justicia, ayuda, compenetración. (*Mujer* 4)<sup>262</sup>

The fact that Kent as a female lawyer was depicted as tender, appreciative of beauty and a clairvoyant, having a "sixth sense" to look into her clients' hearts, softened her transgression in a typically male world by agreeing with a traditional feminine

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<sup>261</sup> Such was the case of the Isabeline writers or early feminists and reformers like Concepción Arenal (1820-1893) in the late nineteenth century. Arenal endorsed female education and negotiated with female work; for example she endorsed jobs for women which were in accordance with the female character, such as teaching. She discarded scientific arguments about female physical and mental inferiority. Nevertheless, to legitimize her cause she presented motherhood (women's vital role in society) as the excuse to better women's situation. Arenal's more famous works in defense of women were *La mujer del porvenir* (1869) and *La mujer de su casa* (1883).

<sup>262</sup> (Is this woman tough of spirit and physiognomy? Must we fear her little ductility to tenderness? Not at all, we must not fear that. Looking at flowers wake up the tenderness of her spirit. It is true that her words and gestures are concise, but her feelings dilate in order to, like a medium, enter the hearts of those who hope for justice, help, mutual understanding)

Issue 1, June 6 1931.

quintessence. Nevertheless, this mention to sensitivity, the preferred male argumentation used to pigeonhole women in the domestic sphere, was now used to break women free from it and present previously inaccessible jobs as a desirable option for women. In hygiene manuals romanticism was a paternalistic tool which empowered the male author and helped to make his indoctrination deceptively attractive. In contrast, in the article “La mujer estudiante,” romanticism was once more used to validate women’s efficiency in her profession of choice, in this case law:

La mujer abogado también ejercerá románticamente su profesión. Ningún hombre será como ella capaz de sentir íntimamente el peso de las cargas de sus acusados. Será también abogado de espíritus. Los delincuentes se prometerán a sí mismos no reincidir para no verse de nuevo reconvenidos por su abogado mujer. (*Mujer* 10)<sup>263</sup>

Woman’s ability to commiserate with others were all qualities of the *Mater Dolorosa* and the angel, but here they were not used to tie women to the home, but to legitimize her worth as a professional during the Republic.

Style and the elimination of angelic and flowery discourse in divulgation works was one of the points of departure between feminist bourgeois and anarchist literature. Although both movements fought to achieve emancipation for women, they did not get along. Anarchists were against any form of government, institution or authority which represented the power of masters over subordinates. They believed feminists wanted to substitute one form of male dominance, male government and authority, for a female one

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<sup>263</sup> (The female lawyer will also carry out her duty romantically. Unlike her, a man will never be capable of feeling the burden of her defendants so intimately. She will also be a lawyer of the spirit. Criminals will promise themselves not to relapse so that they are not reprimanded again by their female lawyer)

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(Montseny qtd. in Ackelsberg 90-1). Like in the case of bourgeois feminist magazines, Dr. Amparo Poch y Gascón in *La vida sexual de la mujer* (1932), a manual on the physiology and hygiene of sex, also employed the idea of the heroine to refer to the new woman. However, she was the antithesis of the ultra-sensitive angel: love, sacrifice and resignation were not enough for her to feel fulfilled, but she needed to work, study and develop her individuality. Dr. Poch y Gascón was much more aggressive in her dismantling of the angel model than bourgeois writers. The new woman's necessities were reflected in the discarding of restrictive hairdos and fashion but, most, importantly, the "stupid" hypocritical softness, tenderness and passivity of old mothers conveyed by the sentimental novel's rhetoric. The new woman discarded this "burden" from the past to acquire a new moral:

Aquellas mujeres que renunciaban a todo por amor, que no sabían vivir si no sentían una fuerte mano masculina sobre las suyas, van quedando, poco a poco, sólo para una categoría de novelas; porque el nuevo tipo femenino nos regala bravas heroínas que suspiran de gozo al encontrar entre las ruinas de un amor su perdida libertad, y que no necesitan ni quieren manos ajenas que les aparten las zarzas de su vida. (41)<sup>264</sup>

Male hygienists, even more progressive bourgeois eugenicist doctors such as Dr. Vital Aza and his *Por qué la mujer no tiene hijos* (1934), on sterility and the pathologies of reproduction, fitted very well in the description of these "manos ajenas que les aparten las zarzas de la vida," who used novelesque style to present a distorted, romantic vision

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<sup>264</sup> (Those women gave everything up because of love, they did not know how to live without a strong, masculine hand supporting them, these women, little by little, are only found in novels; because the new female model delights us with brave heroines who sigh of joy when they find their lost freedom in the ruins of love, and they do not need or want strange hands to move away the thorns of life)

of women.<sup>265</sup> The language of the male expert reflected this idea of life as a thorny bush or a turbulent, reef-full sea for which the male expert's powers and knowledge were life-saving. Dr. Poch y Gascón, by alluding at these obstacles as "zarzas," defied bourgeois hygiene literature and male tutelage with her manual, addressed to women from equal to equal.

As Deborah Tannen affirms regarding men's attitude during conversation with females, "a primary means of establishing status is to tell others what to do" (*You just don't understand* 26). It is clear that Dr. Aza was trying to impose his personal view on gender roles on the female reader by setting a course of action for them with the help of traditional idealization, by "eternalizing Spain or evoking other historical eras" (Johnson 2). Dr. Vital Aza provided bourgeois women with information on sexuality and reproduction to try to engage them in a perpetual tutelage:

Solo *tutelando* desde muy pronto la manera de plasmarse orgánicamente la mujer, actuando sobre ella cuando aún no lo es, podremos lograr que en la *masa* de su futura organización, al ir a cuajar en forma definitiva el moldeado de su edificio biológico, en él se conserve abierto y diáfano el ventanal por el que pueda penetrar, llegado el día, el rayo luminoso de una posible fecundidad... Hay que salvar en la niña de hoy la madre de mañana. (38)<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> Excerpts from this manual were reproduced in the author's welcome speech into the Academia Nacional de Medicina, *Derechos y deberes biológicos de la mujer* (1934). According to the cover of his manual, Dr. Aza was "director del Sanatorio Quirúrgico y Clínica de Maternidad "Santa Alicia." Académico de Número de la Nacional de Medicina. This manual belonged to the collection "Biblioteca de vulgarización médica."

<sup>266</sup> (Only guiding how women are organically shaped very early in their lives, acting on them when they are not women yet; only in this way, we will be able to keep open the diaphanous window for the bright ray of light of fertility to penetrate it when their biological edifice is finally molded ... We must save the mother of tomorrow in the girl of today)

Dr. Aza used the euphemism “window” which had to remain open to be penetrated by the ray of light of fecundity, woman as an amorphous structure to be molded into an edifice, the constant supervision of the doctor, attentive to the “granar sexual de las muchachas en flor” (43) to check and correct any abnormality in ovaries, uterus, vagina which could impair the woman’s fertility, what he considered a soul breaking “naufragio” (45).<sup>267</sup>

Against contraceptives and “abortive practices,” Dr. Aza portrayed Spanish women as proud mothers, thus implying these practices were foreign and aberrant. In contrast, “para gloria de nuestras mujeres españolas son aún muchas más las que anhelan un hijo” with “ansia ilusionada y tierna.”<sup>268</sup> Thanks to the supervision of this doctor, the child was able to “grow roots” in the mother’s womb or “una vida que en sus entrañas enraizó” (7).<sup>269</sup> In contrast to the female preoccupation with social change and Republican reform, Dr. Aza went back to the nineteenth century representation of passive, angelic women by portraying them as soil, plants and flowers which had to be carefully tended to avoid disease and dysfunction, hence eliminating any trace of agency in female reproduction. Dr. Aza’s ambivalence towards women was best represented by his condemning of the transmission of venereal disease by males, a contagion which was compared to a Biblical curse. This positive attitude toward the abuse against females was however compromised by his dehumanization of women as “the altar of Venus” “land” and “furrow” for the healthy, vigorous male farmer to work on and fertilize, This male human figure was contrasted to the female object or element of nature, emphasizing women’s lack of sexual initiative:

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<sup>267</sup> (sexual blooming of girls; a shipwreck)

<sup>268</sup> (glory to our Spanish women for many still long for a child with tender hope)

<sup>269</sup> (a life which took roots in her entrails)

Puede un hombre reiterar en el altar de Venus sus ofrendas y tras ellas no logre que del fuego amoroso salga una chispa que encienda una nueva vida. De sol a sol, sobre una tierra apta y dispuesta, podría arrojar afanosamente granos y granos un vigoroso sembrador..., y ni una sola espiga allí se erguirá más tarde si la semilla es huera y vano el trigo [...] [Un hombre contagiado] no sólo no fertiliza la tierra, sino que vierte en los surcos la plaga maldita, que quitará, para siempre acaso, poderío maternal a sus entrañas, que así quedarán sembradas de sal, como en la maldición bíblica. (28, 60)<sup>270</sup>

The more modern twist to this allegory of plants, roots and Biblical curses was female desire, which, unlike angelic virtuous frigidity, in the nineteen teens and twenties had been recognized and legitimized by doctors such as Marañón and exploited in erotic literature. Nevertheless, in Dr. Aza's manual women were voluptuous but, not surprisingly, it was man who had to awaken and "cultivate" women's sexuality like a "rare plant." In favor of women, the doctor considered most men selfish in sexual matters, and encouraged them to think of pleasuring their partners as well as themselves (12-3). Immediately after this assertion, Dr. Aza contradicts himself by emphasizing the lack of importance of pleasure for conception, an idea enforced during the nineteenth century to suggest female angelic frigidity. According to Thomas Laqueur, in the nineteenth century

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<sup>270</sup> (Man can reiterate his offerings in the altar of Venus and not obtain a spark from the fire of love to light up a new life. From morning until night, a vigorous sower can throw grain once and again over apt and ready soil... and not even a sole wheat ear will grow later if the seed is worthless and the wheat vain [...] [A diseased man] not only does not fertilize the land, but throws in its furrows a damned plague which forever robs the woman's entrails of their maternal power, entrails which will be sown with salt, like in the Biblical curse)

the newly “discovered” contingency of delight opened up the possibility of female passivity and “passionlessness.” The purported independence of generation from pleasure created the space in which women’s sexual nature could be redefined, debated, denied, or qualified. (Laqueur 3)<sup>271</sup>

While Dr. Aza at first echoed the nineteenth century stereotype of the frigid woman, a paragraph later the author contradicted himself once more to affirm that the quality of the sexual act, not the quantity, was a guarantee of conception if both partners were physiologically normal and healthy. In this way, Dr Aza swung back and forth from a traditional inattention towards female pleasure and angelic sexuality, to a modern approach which gave importance to pleasuring the female partner for a healthy, fruitful sexual life.

Dr. Poch y Gascón’s reaction to doctors who essentialized women by using flowery rhetoric, like Dr. Aza’s fables of soil, gardeners, flowers, seeds, wheat ears and Biblical plagues and curses, was to point out her colleagues’ lack of professionalism, their ungrounded, subjective arguments to legitimize the need for the male supervision of women. In contrast to Dr. Aza’s euphemisms and circumlocutions, Dr. Poch y Gascón’s attempts to present women with direct, practical information on the same topics. Sarcasm impregnated all of Dr. Poch y Gascón’s manual as a reaction to a century of harebrained male prescriptions to women. She also alluded to endocrinology and ridiculed Marañón’s *Tres ensayos sobre la vida sexual* and the idea of female desire to work and study as a hormonal imbalance:

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<sup>271</sup> According to Laqueur, historically female orgasm was thought to be essential for conception. In the nineteenth century, however, scientists focused on eliminating this belief to inscribe a cultural, desirable gender ideal on female bodies, that of the angel of the home (2-3).



Ahora que nos damos y se dan cuenta [los hombres] de que tenemos alma –no la de antes- y cuerpo, resulta que tampoco podemos estar en equilibrio las mujeres. Ahora vienen unos médicos y nos dicen, por un lado, que somos unos seres a medio desarrollar, así como intermedios entre el niño y el hombre; y, por otro lado, cuando tenemos inteligencia y actuamos eficazmente en la vida pública, que tenemos desarregladas las glándulas endocrinas y que interesamos al patólogo. Es decir, que estamos condenadas a vivir hundidas en una imperfección sin esperanza: cuando somos las mujercitas adorables, desarrollo incompleto; cuando somos seres capaces y responsables, anormalidad manifiesta. Lo cuerdo será, en trance de tantas dudas, conocernos bien, aunque los de fuera se esfuercen en hacer como que no nos conocen. Perfeccionar nuestra personalidad psicofisiológica, hacernos madres conscientes y perfectas ciudadanas conscientes y perfectas también. (*La vida sexual* 23)<sup>272</sup>

Here Dr. Poch y Gascón created a bond with her female readers by using sarcasm to refer to female docility and through pointing at the nonsense of the ancient discussion of women not having a soul. In this manner, she subversively winked at the reader with her remark about the soul of women having progressed at this moment: “tenemos alma –no la de antes.” She also used the first person “us” and included herself as a woman in her

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<sup>272</sup> (Now that [men] and ourselves realized that we have a soul –not the old one though- and a body, it seems like us women cannot be balanced. Now some doctors are telling us, on the one hand, that we are half developed beings, more or less in between a child and a man; and, on the other hand, when we display intelligence and act efficiently in public life, they say that our glands are imbalanced and that we are a pathological case. That is to say, that we are condemned to live submerged in hopeless imperfection: when we are adorable little women, we are underdeveloped; when we are able and responsible beings, we are obvious abnormalities. The sound thing to do then, after so much hesitation, is to know ourselves well since men pretend they don’t know us. We must perfect our physiological and psychological personality, become conscious and perfect mothers and citizens)

argumentation, therefore indicating that she was herself a target of the male doctors' ridiculous theories.

Her recommendation to her fellow female readers was “to know ourselves well” in order to become “conscious mothers” and citizens. This was a physical and cultural self cultivation very different to the gardening and sowing proposed by Dr. Aza for, most importantly, it ignored the supervision of the male experts. Despite Dr. Poch y Gascón's revolutionary spirit, in order to achieve a fulfilled life she included the experience of being a perfect mother. Unlike hygiene's traditional prescription of motherhood, however, women's right to citizenship and individuality could not be erased when becoming a mother. Education and citizenship joined motherhood and did not exclude one another.

Motherhood was a point of departure between bourgeois eugenicists and anarchist doctors, a debate embodied by contraceptives, whose rejection was also part of the bourgeois idealization of motherhood reminiscent of nineteenth century manuals. Dr. Poch y Gascón advocated contraceptives in order to regulate pregnancies in contrast to bourgeois false piety, “las conciencias delicadas que no quieren turbarse.”<sup>273</sup> Nevertheless, like many anarchists, she was not daring enough as to separate femininity and motherhood radically, but supported contraceptives or “conscious motherhood” as a way to choose the number of births and their most appropriate time:

Durante el matrimonio, han de regularse los embarazos, de modo que entre ellos transcurra el tiempo suficiente, dadas las diversas condiciones de sanidad, economía, y otras que deben tenerse presentes. Esta regulación puede

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<sup>273</sup> (those delicate consciences which do not wish to be embarrassed)

conseguirse por medios anticoncepcionales, cuyo empleo nos permite, también, elegir la época más conveniente para el nacimiento de los niños. (43)<sup>274</sup>

*Neomalthusianism* (the use of birth control methods) was a particularly polemic issue in Spain.<sup>275</sup> With the exception of some anarchists and foreign experts, most Spanish progressive doctors endorsed a milder form of *eugenics* which allowed for consciousness on how reproduction works, education about optimal and unfavorable conditions for reproduction, but obviated or condemned contraceptives explicitly. Bourgeois doctors such as Dr. Aza presented a limited vision of *eugenics* focusing on the transmission of venereal disease as one of the main reasons for infertility, and on solutions to avoid this and attain fertility. On contraceptives, Dr. Aza affirmed they were

difundidos cada día más y minando por impulsos de bajo egoísmo y de equivocados conceptos sobre los derechos y deberes biológicos de la mujer cuanto debe ser base y sostén de la familia y del hogar, representan una terrible amenaza para un mañana próximo y son ya una dolorosa realidad de hoy. (7)<sup>276</sup>

Following the same line of thought as Dr. Aza's, the Spanish Catholic Church contributed to the debate with the publication of works in collaboration with doctors such as Father Joaquín Mañá Alcoverro and gynecologist E. Terrades's *Grave caso de conciencia en el matrimonio: su solución por la continencia periódica conforme al*

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<sup>274</sup> (During marriage, pregnancies must be regulated and spaced according to health and economic conditions and other conditions which must be considered. This regulation can be achieved by contraceptive methods, whose use also allows us to choose the most convenient time for the birth of babies)

<sup>275</sup> Thomas Malthus in *Essay on the principle of population* (1798) had already predicted that the geometrical increase of the population at its current pace would exhaust natural resources, cause famine and war. His solution to this problem was abstinence. The neomalthusian approach to this problem, however, was the use of contraceptives (Cleminson, *Anarchists for health* 64).

<sup>276</sup> (spread more and more by low, selfish impulses based on wrong ideas about women's biological rights and duties, when women must be the support and base of the family and the home, [methods] which represent a terrible threat for the near future and are a painful reality today)

*método Ogino. El método Ogino a la luz de la teología moral* (1935). The publishers, Editores Católicos, affirmed that the purpose of the collection was to protect the institution of the family and its moral virtues (7). “Social disinution,” having less children, was seen as an “anhelo insano y egoista de hallar en la vida el máximo deleite posible con el mínimo de cargas y deberes. Invirtiendo así el orden establecido por Dios” (8).<sup>277</sup> Here the Catholic Church made some concessions in valid cases such as decent families with “hondo sentir cristiano” for which having another child became an economic or physical burden. The solution was never the use of contraceptives, but periodical abstinence following the Ogino Method in order to avoid conception or have children at a favorable time under the best physical and economic conditions. However, the editors were quick to assure that this was not a *neomalthussian* (contraceptive) measure, which made it more acceptable in the eyes of the Catholic Church (9, 12).

In contrast to the Catholic demonization of these devices, manuals such as Dr. Strasborg’s 1934 *Felicidad y salud en el matrimonio. Higiene sexual* gave extensive information on contraceptives together with illustrations of genitals and the use of these mechanisms.<sup>278</sup> Some examples were *coitus interruptus*, regular washing for the woman,

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<sup>277</sup> (an unhealthy and selfish wish to find the most pleasure in life with a minimum of burdens and duties, hence subverting the order established by God)

<sup>278</sup> See figure 6 from Dr. Strasborg’s manual. This book was unique among the many manuals on eugenics and sexuality of this period, for it truly addressed contraception in a detailed manner, without flowery style or alluding to the moral problems with these methods. The name of the author suggests that this may have been a translation of a foreign manual or that the author wanted to appear as a foreign authority to avoid suspicion. The explicitness with which sexual practices and contraceptives are described suggests that this manual probably was not as widely distributed as other canonical or more political correct works.

An example of the pervasive prudishness in dealing with sex and contraceptives, especially when addressing female readers, is Dr. Francisco Haro’s 1934 *Fases biológicas de la mujer (Cartas a Paloma)*, a epistolary manual addressed to the doctor’s own daughter. Apart from *coitus interruptus*, the Ogino Method and washing, other types of contraceptives were very briefly discussed. The use of condoms was only suggested, but not even openly named: “el más eficaz, el que no produce ningún daño y el más sencillo de manejar, y sobre él no he de darte más detalles, pues tu marido lo ha de conocer

chemical washing, a rubber cap for the man's glans, rubber condoms, a weight to cover the woman's cervix, a security sponge impregnated with chemicals or vinegar (108-124). It is revealing how, unlike other manuals to achieve happiness in marriage such as Monlau's, explicit illustrations at this moment became a legitimate way to educate the reader. Despite the openness towards this topic displayed in this foreign manual, most Spanish equivalents did not provide such illustrations or any information about types of contraceptives and how to use them. This suggests that the stigma and taboo around the use of these devices was still very strong in Spain.

Similarly, Dr. Poch y Gascón advocated contraceptives and voiced poor women's opinion on pregnancy, bringing the reader down to reality by revealing the results of a survey in which hundreds of pregnant women were asked if they had wished for the children they were expecting:

Como las hemos reclutado para nuestras preguntas en los hospitales y casi todas eran de clase humilde y algunas con siete, diez y hasta trece hijos, comprenderéis que nos contestaran con una amarga negativa o con la indiferencia [...] Eran, contra sus deseos, víctimas de las conciencias delicadas que no quieren turbarse regulando la natalidad, aunque las proles numerosas y desgraciadas hayan de

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suficientemente" (the most effective, harmless and easy to use, and I won't give you more details since your husband knows well enough what I'm talking about) (220-1). About contraceptive devices used by women, the author did not even name them but limited his comments to warning the reader that some were safer, others more dangerous and needed the intervention of a doctor. Haro considered abstinence as the infallible method, and Ogino, if carried out well, as the most compatible with religious belief (221-2). Self-censorship and the discomfort the polemic topic of contraception caused in many manual authors made reliable and detailed information about contraceptives difficult to find in hygiene and eugenic literature of this time.

repartirse entre la muerte, el hospicio y el hospital, que a veces equivale a la muerte o algo peor. (6)<sup>279</sup>

Unlike Dr. Strasborg, however, Dr. Poch y Gascón did not provide illustrations or details about the available methods or their functioning. Although to a certain extent this omission impaired her endeavor of making practical knowledge about sexuality and reproduction available for women, yet she intended to awaken women's conscience to the possibility of taking control of their sexuality and fertility.<sup>280</sup>

Anarchist writers and activists such as Federica Montseny, who worked hand by hand with Dr. Poch y Gascón as Minister of Health during the first months of the Civil War, shared the same view of conscious motherhood and, similarly, attempted to express it in a non-bourgeois, direct style. It may seem contradictory that libertarians saw motherhood as one of the hallmarks in women's life, since motherhood was one of the instruments used by hygienist doctors and the Catholic Church to curtail women's participation in the public sphere. However, according to Montseny it had been the bourgeois and Catholic "bastardization" of motherhood, its contamination and narrowing down of its "pure" natural qualities, which had turned it into an enslaving mechanism. In this manner, anarchists portrayed the bourgeois family and bourgeois motherhood as denaturalized: children became a capitalist consequence of the father and husband's economic and physical possession of women. In contrast, libertarian motherhood was harmonized with

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<sup>279</sup> (Since we have recruited them for our questioning in hospitals, and most of them were poor and had seven, ten, even thirteen children, you will understand that they answered with indifference or a sour "no" as an answer [...] They were, against their will, victims of the delicate consciences who do not wish to be embarrassed by regulating births, although numerous and unhappy children must be divided between death, an orphanage and a hospital, which sometimes equals death or worse)

<sup>280</sup> Although the topic of contraception was widely debated at this moment, I was not able to find statistics on the use of these methods or their availability to the public. The limited availability of very vague information about contraceptives in hygiene manuals and works on eugenics was enough to spur the polemic in conservative and progressive circles.

political activism and the development and intellectual enrichment of the female self. In some cases, when the partner selected was not able to renounce to his bourgeois possessive tendencies and was unable to accept the woman's need for independence, raising your children alone became a valid alternative. In Montseny's first novel *La Victoria* and the sequel *La hija de Clara*, the heroine Clara Delval had a baby and raised her on her own accepting her solitude daringly in exchange for her individuality and independence. This novel raised a storm of polemic and it was widely debated for single motherhood was considered a stigma in bourgeois society. Some considered Delval a brave example of a modern woman, many as a "biological abnormality" (Lozano 85).

Contrary to bourgeois males and some male anarchists, who still dwelled in the past in matters of female emancipation, female anarchists focused on changing traditional gender ideals to bring about a better future. In this way, Federica Montseny's novella *Una mujer y dos hombres* (1932)<sup>281</sup> presented females with an anarchist ideal of womanhood and motherhood. These novellas had the purpose of divulging culture and libertarian ideals and lifestyle among the masses. According to the director of the anarchist magazine *La Revista Blanca* and Montseny's father, Federico Urales, the purpose of these novellas was to become instruments to spread ideas among women and youths and "interesar por medio del sentimiento y de la emoción, en las luchas para instituir una sociedad sin amos ni esclavos, sin gobernantes ni gobernados." Again, style became symbolic of the values of the author. Modernist literary "divagations," stylistically rich but devoid of useful content, were not welcome for submission. In its

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<sup>281</sup> Published by the anarchist magazine *La Revista Blanca* (second season, 1923-1936) in the collection *La novela ideal*.

place, engaging, interesting cases of “actos heroicos que eleven el espíritu y fortalezcan la acción” were the ideal to achieve (qtd. In Lorenzo 82).<sup>282</sup>

Laura Albany, the protagonist of *Una mujer y dos hombres*, embodied the anarchist feminine ideal: a healthy looking, strong-willed, nature-loving, independent woman; a lawyer who shared a “free union” with her male *compañero*.<sup>283</sup> In the same way, Dr. Poch y Gascón’s *La vida sexual de la mujer* criticized the sole aspiration of “ghostly,” “empty” superficial bourgeois women as “man.” “encuadra una sola figura: hombre. Y a éste se unirán con un amor falso hecho mitad de placer y costumbre, mitad de necesidad constante de una guía. [...] Instrumento mudo, su alma no puede estar en consonancia con ninguna” (8).<sup>284</sup> Contrary to the bourgeois ideal of marriage, Dr. Poch y Gascón recommended free unions as a healthy, natural, sincere and fulfilling option. Montseny’s novel gave a “flesh and blood” example to this theory and promoted this lifestyle by inspiring the reader with the heroic actions of the female protagonist.

Jorge, Ana’s *compañero*, was not her guide. He did not possess her physically, economically or intellectually. Ana’s mutual understanding with her partner was physical as well as intellectual for sex was a natural, essential element to achieve a fulfilling live in the eyes of anarchists. In this integral relationship, both individuals were at an equal level:

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<sup>282</sup> (to make the fight to attain a society without masters or slaves interesting through feeling and emotion; heroic acts which elevate the spirit and strengthen the will to act)

<sup>283</sup> According to Martha A. Ackelsberg, most anarchist males did not put into practice the theories on women’s equality and were far from accepting the anarchist ideal of femininity, for example engaging in free unions and “sharing” their female partner with another man (30).

<sup>284</sup> (is fixed in only one thing: man. They will join him with fake love made out of pleasure and routine, of the constant need of guidance [...] Mute instruments, their soul cannot be in consonance with any other soul)



No contrajeron matrimonio, formando su nido a base de la libertad y la confianza mutua [...]. Trabajaban los dos independientes, cada uno dedicado a una actividad que se ponía al servicio de la causa general del progreso y de las aspiraciones humanas a la libertad y a la justicia [...] Naturaleza militante, vida y corazón pletóricos de dinamismo, [Laura] expandía calor, energía alrededor suyo. [...] Eran, sencillamente, una mujer y un hombre unidos por la común ternura, los anhelos comunes y el común respeto a la individualidad ajena. Él era él y ella era ella. (Monsteny 4-5)<sup>285</sup>

The emphasis on the word “común” underscored the idea that, instead of bourgeois submission to a husband, Laura was herself, “era *ella*, singular, comprensiva y orgullosa, leal y libre” (9).<sup>286</sup> This idea of individuality not only went against the angelic submission to a husband, but also the more progressive bourgeois theories of complementarity between man and woman which appeared with the turn of the century and endocrinology. Complementarity supposedly eliminated the nineteenth century idea of women’s childish inferiority to raise her to men’s level. However, in the case of the most famous Spanish advocate of these theories, Dr. Gregorio Marañón, hormones became the new instrument to tie women up to their traditional roles as reproducers of the species, encouraging a strict behavioral differentiation between men and women. He considered men more instinctive, active and desiring sexually, while women were less sexual beings who used theatrical “coquetry” to fire up men’s libido and force them to marry (*Amor*,

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<sup>285</sup> (They did not get married, but built their nest on freedom and mutual trust [...]. They both worked independently, each one dedicated to an activity serving progress and human aspirations such as freedom and justice [...] A militant nature, her life and heart bursting with dynamism, [Laura] irradiated heat, energy around her. [...] They were both simply a man and a woman united by common tenderness, common hopes and a shared respect by one another’s individuality. He was himself, and she was herself)

<sup>286</sup> (she was *herself*, unique, understanding and proud, loyal and free)

*conveniencia y eugenesia* 60-1). Contrary to Dr. Marañón's theories and Dr. Aza's emphasis on male sexual initiative, Federica Montseny in *Una mujer y dos hombres* demonstrated the importance of physical attraction as something natural for women when choosing a partner.

Libertarians promoted the cultivation of sexual instincts as a part of a bigger project of natural living. Their purpose was to return to a domination-free original state. Respect for all living beings, animals included, was reflecting of this idea. Vegetarianism and naturism became popular in anarchist circles as a way of self-improvement and the improvement of humanity (Cleminson 111). These practices were a way of eliminating the individual from the ideological toxins of the bourgeoisie, together with the material toxins of alcohol, tobacco and meat.<sup>287</sup> In contrast to the political, economic and cultural "regulating" character of hygiene when prescribing fresh air, a healthy diet and exercise, for anarchists the libertarian lifestyle was emancipating and altruist. As example in Montseny's *Una mujer y dos hombres* is Laura's irradiating energy, which was not used selfishly, but employed more humanely in her law office for the greater good of delivering justice to her clients.

The only conflict, "shadow" or "void" in Laura and Jorge's seemingly perfect union was the lack of children (Montseny 5), a typical eugenic concern as we have seen in Dr. Vital Aza's case. As a hope for a better future for humanity and the community, children

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<sup>287</sup> In a 1925-6 series of articles published in *La Revista Blanca*, "Naturismo," Antonia Maymón describes this practice as "la vuelta del hombre a la naturaleza," "la vida natural e integral del hombre, ajustándose a las leyes naturales," in contrast to civilization. "Naturismo" was a mixture of a natural diet, elimination of toxins and "vices" in order to be healthier physically and mentally, and free love away from the dictates of Church and State. Civilization amounted to degeneration and this anarchist lifestyle was presented as a sure way to transmit positive qualities in health and morals to descendants. Appendix to Antonio Prado's doctoral thesis *Escritoras anarco-feministas en la Revista Blanca (1898-1905/1923-1936): Matrimonio, familia y estado*. Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2006.

became both individuals with their own personalities but also extensions of the progenitor's healthiness of body and ideals acquired through eugenic, conscious conception. The title of the novella, *Una mujer y dos hombres*, besides being provocative, was also symbolic of Laura's dilemma. She was very happy with Jorge, but was always wondering who was responsible for their sterility. It was a sexual encounter with another man which proved that Jorge was to blame. Inspired by eugenics and the importance of heredity for anarchists, the novel emphasized the physical description of Laura's two male partners without obviating the spiritual side of the individual in accordance with anarchist ideals. In Jorge's case, there was an imbalance between his intellectual capacity and his physical strength, lesser than the former. This affected Laura's love for him, which was based more on tenderness and admiration than sexual attraction and passion. This strategy served Montseny to announce Jorge's sterility, but also to preserve the heroine's healthy integrity as able to bear children:

Jorge era un hombre alto, delgado, de cabeza noble sobre unos anchos hombros, un poco encorvados por el estudio. Su semblante, sombreado en su parte inferior por el vello rasurado de lo que sería gran barba, tenía una expresión dulce y plácida, sosegada y grave. Los ojos claros y pensativos, ojos de sabio, brillaban con mirada inteligente tras sus lentes de miope. Su talento precisábase en lo espacioso de la frente, en la expresión toda de aquel rostro de hombre poderoso de espíritu, penetrante y recto. (9)<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> (Jorge was a tall man, thin, he had a noble head above broad shoulders, a little bit curved because of his studies. The expression on his face was sweet and placid, calm and grave although shadowed in his chin by what would be a great beard if he didn't trim it. His light and thoughtful eyes, the eyes of a wise man, sparkled with intelligence behind his myopic glasses. His talent could be seen in his wide forehead, in the expression of his face as a whole, a powerful man in spirit, profound and honest)

Jorge's focus on study curved his shoulders, otherwise high and wide. This predominance of intellect in Jorge, instead of also cultivating his physicality, was symbolized by the locus of manhood, "a great beard," which Jorge trims. His eyes were grave but also sweet and tender and, unfortunately, myopic. In order not to betray anarchist ideals and sound stereotypically bourgeois, Montseny tried to find a balance between the importance of cultivating body and mind so as not to place the essence of masculinity in sheer physicality. In this way, the heroine was not debased in the reader's eyes by merely guiding her choice of partner in physical strength and sex appeal, but something deeper, his intelligence and rectitude.

Despite this effort, Jorge's description was somewhat feminizing if we compare it to Laura's defendant, Armando Roldán Valera, leader of a popular revolution against the government. Laura had one "conscious" sexual encounter with him after he was freed, in order to test whether she could have a child. For Laura, besides Roldán's sex-appeal, he was also endowed with beautiful ideals, courage, and a solid sense of righteousness. However, the strongest magnet which attracted Laura was his almost "animal like" and very erotic physical features, a symbol of his peasant, more natural past:

Un hombre de buena estatura, de anchas espaldas de campesino sobre un cuerpo pulido por la vida ciudadana. Moreno, de tez ardiente y grandes ojos sombríos. La frente, ancha y ponderosa, emergía como un faro de blancor singular en medio de lo atezado del semblante. La boca, altiva y hermética, tenía un rictus entre irónico y amargo que daba expresión particular a su semblante, a la vez atractiva y repelente [...] El traje descuidado que llevaba

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caía con natural elegancia sobre su cuerpo sólido y bien proporcionado. La camisa abierta, dejando ver el pecho velludo y fuerte, daba cierto aspecto dantoniano a aquella recia silueta de revolucionario. Y la frente extraordinaria brillaba en la penumbra del locutorio como si sobre ella flotase el fuego fatuo de una extraña aureola. (13-4)<sup>289</sup>

In both descriptions of the male characters the head, specifically the forehead, became an indicator of their intelligence and values, admired greatly by Laura. This was conveyed by metaphors and adjectives which were reminiscent of the idealistic, stereotyping discourse in bourgeois manuals. This is especially is apparent in the case of the anarchist ideals of nature and peasantry: adjectives which indicated a strong manliness such as “penetrante,” “recto” in Jorge’s case, or “altivo,” “hermético,” “sólido,” and “velludo” for Roldán; metaphors of luminous and straight structures such as “faro de blancor” and, more contradictorily coming from an anarchist, a metaphor echoing religious imagery such as “extraña aureola” which surrounded the revolutionary’s head.

Montseny’s struggle to distance her novel from bourgeois stereotypes of femininity and masculinity was also embodied by Laura’s struggle between Jorge and Roldán. Momentarily, the scale leaned towards the revolutionary, a more eugenic and healthier combination of active virility and ideals. To justify Laura’s “betrayal” of Jorge, besides

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<sup>289</sup> (A man of good stature, with a broad peasant back on a body polished by city life. His skin was dark, he had an ardent face and big, melancholic eyes. His forehead was wide and powerful, and emerged like a most unique and bright lighthouse in his shadowy face. The mouth, proud and hermetic, had an ironic or sour rictus which gave his face a most unusual expression, attractive and repellent at the same time [...] The untidy suit he wore fell with a natural elegance on his solid and well-proportioned body. His open shirt, showing his hairy and strong chest, gave his revolutionary silhouette a somewhat Dantonian look. His extraordinary forehead shone in the darkness of the visiting room, giving out a strange fiery aura)

her desire to be a mother and her very healthy and natural sexual instinct towards Roldán, the narrator explained that

Laura representaba un tipo tan extraordinario, tan único de mujer, que no podía pasar impunemente junto a la vida de Roldán [...] Su naturaleza de mujer, su feminidad sana y poderosa, sentían aquella caricia del fuego masculino, pasado en una ráfaga fugitiva por sus mejillas que hervían. (17-8)<sup>290</sup>

She was impregnated by Roldán, after deciding to have only one sexual encounter with him for respect of her *compañero* Jorge. However, Jorge's bourgeois reaction, his inability to accept her "infidelity" (using a bourgeois term) and hurt in his male pride helped the heroine to leave him and raise her child on her own. The balance of Laura and Jorge's union, based on mutual respect, was broken by his possessiveness:

Si tú no eres capaz de amarme, de sentir el cariño generoso y respetuoso con mi libertad, con mi derecho de mujer y al margen de todo sentido evolucionista y posesivo, son inútiles todos mis razonamientos. Sentirás ante mí el odio y la rabia del macho que se cree burlado, y toda ternura de corazón, toda comprensión humana, desaparecerá entre nosotros, en ti por lo menos, que yo continuaré queriéndote con la misma ternura y el mismo respeto. (24-5)<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> (Laura was such a extraordinary woman, so unique, that she could not let her life pass by Roldán's with impunity [...] Her female nature, her healthy and powerful femininity, felt the fugitive caress of masculine fire in her burning cheeks)

<sup>291</sup> (If you are incapable of loving me, of feeling generous love, respectful of my freedom and my rights as a woman, apart from any evolutionist and possessive feeling, all my arguments are worthless. You will feel the hate and outrage of the male who feels cheated, and all tenderness, all human understanding, will disappear between us; in your case, at least, because I will continue to love you with the same tenderness and respect)

The “happy ending” of the novella was also contradictory considering this was a strategy used typically in “literatura bonita” or bourgeois literature. Throughout the text there was always an attempt to distance it from bourgeois ideals, but for the promotion of anarchism there was also a need to surround the struggle with a positive, “humane” attitude. Like Federico Urales stated, *La novela ideal* aimed to depict “actos heroicos que eleven el espíritu y fortalezcan la acción” but, most importantly, a result to toil. In this way, Laura gave another opportunity to Jorge three years later but the narrator implied that this was a carefully considered plan, emphasizing once more the idea of conscience and reflection besides love as the clue to success in relationships. In the same way to a lawyer’s strategy to bring Jorge, the accused, back to her side, Laura rejected him with her “cruel,” strong and unbending affirmation of female individuality:

Cada cual ha de tener un papel propio en su vida propia. Ninguno en la vida de los otros, que es única y particular, en absoluto independiente del resto de vidas [...] la abogacía, aplicada al amor, se ve que tiene artimañas y trucos especiales. (31-2)<sup>292</sup>

Nevertheless, anarchism was not a mere assertion of individuality but a mixture of individuality and community. Individual personalities contributed with their knowledge, healthy and natural living to the collective welfare of humanity (Cleminson 120-1). Therefore, Laura did no “selfishly” isolate herself from Jorge and the rest of the world. She went back to her relationship with Jorge and harmonized motherhood with her profession successfully. Furthermore, the plot’s most surprising twist took place when

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<sup>292</sup> (Each individual must have his or her role in his or her own life. None in the lives of others, which are unique and particular, not at all dependent on the rest of lives [...] law, applied to love, seems to have special tricks)

Jorge and Laura became pregnant, the eugenic fruit of the harmony of this free union when reestablished under the solid base of true equality and respect, lacking before on the man's side.

Novellas like Federica Montseny's, manuals like Dr. Poch y Gascón's and magazines like *La Revista Blanca* conveyed anarchist ideals and, not unlike hygiene manuals, somewhat used idealization to promise health, happiness, progress and a more humane world within this lifestyle. However, according to Cleminson, Sinclair and Ackelsberg, these ideals worked better in theory than in practice. The burden of tradition was still heavy on the shoulders of Spanish women during the Republic, the "cocoon" in which the butterfly of Spanish femininity was incarcerated, in Dr. Poch y Gascón's words. Either bourgeois or anarchist males from either band did not help this situation. Moments of crisis such as the Spanish Civil War (1936-9) served as a measurement of how much of either conservative or liberal ideas were reality, and how much was fiction.

In the case of the Republican side, especially for anarchists, the first weeks and months of the war served as a "test tube" to try to put many of their ideals into practice taking advantage of the confusion and delicate situation of the Republican government. Anarchist women benefited from this "experiment," but only momentarily. For anarchists such as Sara Berenger, for the first time women could participate actively in the war effort in the streets of Barcelona without male control or chaperons:

within days, her life had been changed beyond recognition. She likened the revolution to a burst of light, which showed women a way forward that had been closed to them. She got home very late from the Anarchist centre. Some of her younger siblings were out all the time too. Young men and women began



to have gym sessions together. Sara found herself involved in discussions about whether being a free woman meant being a sexual libertarian. To the disappointment of some of her male companions, she thought not. (Lannon 82)

One of the bourgeois indications of male and female inequality, the division of labor, still was an obstacle for women, anarchists included. That was the case of the *milicianas*, or militia women who accompanied men to the front to fight against fascism. Women such as the famous Rosario Sánchez “La Dinamitera” decided to join men at the front “because if the rebels were not stopped we would have a dictatorship and we workers would have a bad time” (Nash 105).<sup>293</sup> Indeed Rosario was right to fear the victory of “nationals” for, after the Civil War, the hope for social advancement brought by the Spanish Second Republic was shattered by Franco’s regime and its regression to nineteenth century gender models and prescriptive discourses. Republican social advances such as female work and divorce were considered a source of national degeneration to be purged. For women the ideal of the “angel of the home,” domestic life, sacrifice and abnegation came again to the forefront with full strength. For the victors, *milicianas* became a propaganda tool to reinforce the angel model, a “sad memory” of a cruel, anti-natural and anarchical past during “red” domination in which even gender roles were turned upside down.<sup>294</sup>

Curiously, the fighters against fascism, including anarchists, shared with Francoists a similar view of *milicianas*, despite initial enthusiasm about their participation in the war

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<sup>293</sup> For more testimonies of women who actively participated on both sides of the conflict see Frances Lannon *Essential histories: The Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*. Oxford: Osprey Press, 2002.

<sup>294</sup> See figure 7, a picture of *milicianas* from Madrid in the Falangist pamphlet *Sección Femenina de Falange Tradicionalista y de la J.O.N.S.* (1940). In this pamphlet *milicianas* are ridiculed as a “sad memory” of Spain’s “red domination” during the Republic and the war.

as a sign of revolutionary ardor. During the first months of the war, in speeches, the press and posters, *milicianas* became “heroines of the Fatherland,” legendary women fighters who gave their lives valiantly to fight against fascism. However, by Autumn of 1936 women who tried to enlist to go to the front were rejected due to their gender. Others already at the frontlines came back to the rearguard for traditional division of labor was ongoing even in such an unconventional environment as the battle front. Some *milicianas* joined males in combat, but many others were expected to scrub, clean, cook and sew for the male soldiers, and ultimately were convinced that their skills would be more useful in the home front (Nash 108-110).

Despite this fallback, women persevered and managed to exert a very important influence during the war, as in the case of political leaders and motherly figures such as Communist icon Dolores Ibárruri *La Pasionaria*. According to Shirley Mangini, *La Pasionaria* “emerged as the great maternal figure, a sort of “earth mother of war,” who carried the official Communist party message to the masses, to spur the troops on to victory” (*Memories of resistance* 39). Not only men measured exceptional women such as *La Pasionaria* by traditional standards of “conformity, docility, abnegation and maternal qualities” to erase their “aberrant” nature as power figures, but these women themselves “deemphasized their sexuality and focused on their maternal qualities, which made them much more acceptable in the context of traditional Spanish society” (Mangini 31). Similarly, with the exception of physical labor in the fields or former male jobs in the ammunition industries, in order to help the Republican cause many women had to channel their war efforts to relief work, more in accordance with a traditional vision of femininity. Such was the case of many foreign women who traveled to Spain to help the

Republic in the rearguard as nurses, journalists, secretaries, interpreters, administrators or teachers of literacy (Fyrth and Alexander 15, 17). Women's motivation, however, was a rebellious one: to fight fascism for "fascism meant war, the abolition of civil liberties and the return of women to the status of second-class citizens and to child-bearing as their exclusively socially useful function" (Fyrth and Alexander 14).<sup>295</sup>

Catalan anarchist doctor Félix Martí Ibáñez and his fifteen page war pamphlet *Mensaje eugénico a la mujer* (1937)<sup>296</sup> contributed to the dismissal of *milicianas* from the battlefield. He was appointed director of the *Conselleria de Sanitat i Assistència Social* (SIAS) in Catalonia in 1936, while Federica Montseny was appointed by the Republican government as the Health Minister for the six first months of the war. The crucial role of the CNT (the anarchist workers union) in the streets in Barcelona and all throughout Catalonia in repelling the rebellion against the Republic made possible that anarchists occupied positions of power within the government, especially in the health department (Cleminson 231). Backed by governmental institutions, Montseny and Martí Ibáñez worked together to implement anarchist revolutionary ideals in health matters, such as eugenic reforms on venereal disease prevention, maternity care, creating "liberatorios de prostitutas" (centers for the reeducation of prostitutes) which never came to exist and, the most daring reform, legalizing abortion, although this was possible only in Catalonia (Lozano 225-28; Cleminson 229-30).

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<sup>295</sup>Thanks to organizations such as the anarchist group *Mujeres Libres*, women were able to take control and re-direct their own war efforts and expand them from setting dining rooms, sewing and taking care of children, the sick, injured and orphaned, to creating literacy programs, organizing rural collectives and conducting a propaganda effort near the battlefield (Ackelsberg 105).

<sup>296</sup>The content of this pamphlet had previously been part of a series of articles published in the anarchist journal *Estudios* in 1936.

According to Richard Cleminson, Martí Ibáñez's style reflected his personal view of education as the base for *Latin eugenics*, instead of the more aggressive approach by means of sterilization of the racially "unfit" by Germans. This gave a psychological character to his writings, Cleminson affirms, also enhanced by Dr. Martí Ibáñez's desire of popularizing this knowledge and not being scientifically hermetic to workers (219). However, Cleminson merely considers style and flowery rhetoric as a didactic strategy, obviating its gender implications, especially if we take into account the hygiene tradition behind these discursive devices.<sup>297</sup> Dr. Martí Ibáñez's pamphlet started with the well-known bourgeois metaphor of woman as seed or "sprout" suffocated or cultivated by men wrongly, and presented himself contradictorily as the opposite: a man who had fought for equality, freedom and awakening women's sense of self-worth. This served as *captatio benevolentia* for the female reader, whom he addressed directly and praised for her to better accept the criticism of later paragraphs. This represented a contradiction, since he also affirmed he did not use praise due to the fact that he considered himself women's comrade and equal:

Os dirige este llamamiento un hombre que ha combatido muchos años a la defensa de vuestra libertad y vuestros íntimos ideales, que ha luchado por despertar en vosotras la serena y libre conciencia de vuestra misión amorosa y vuestros deberes sociales y por crear en los hombres la convicción de que erais sus iguales en la vida. No os he halagado nunca. Os hablé con la rudeza leal del camarada, pero también aurelando mis palabras con ese color azul de la esperanza, que todo lo eleva y dignifica, puesto que siempre os conceptué como

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<sup>297</sup> See Cleminson's article "Anarchist, poet and sex radical: the *Estudios* writings (1934-7) of Doctor Félix Martí Ibáñez" *Anarchist Studies* 5.1 (1997):14-25.

una semilla biológica y social, que si no había llegado a florecer en plenitud, era por no haber sabido el hombre convertirse en jardinero de tan espléndidos brotes femeninos. (3)<sup>298</sup>

Some examples of Martí Ibáñez's advocacy for women were his defense of marriage as chosen by two partners without women being forced to give up their "self" in the process; the importance of genital sex for the couple for personal fulfillment; knowledge of birth control and sex education as a way to succeed in marriage, especially for the proletariat... All in all, Martí Ibáñez advocated conscious reproduction and the elimination of the idea of women as an "inexhaustible womb" (Ackelsberg 27-9). However, in *Mensaje eugénico a la mujer*, Dr. Martí Ibáñez, pressured by the circumstances of war, appropriated many of the bourgeois devices, so typical in traditional hygiene and moralist literature, to bring women back to "control." The will to implement the libertarian, revolutionary experiment during the war, in women's case, had to be postponed until better times came.

Venereal disease was one of the main reasons branded against the participation of females in battle hand in hand with men. This fear was discussed in numerous leftist pamphlets and hygiene manuals on the healthcare of miliciano combatants such as Dr. Astro's *Consejos a los milicianos* (1936) and the anonymous comic book *Hay que evitar ser tan bruto como el soldado Canuto* (1937). Male comradeship in hygiene war

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<sup>298</sup> (I call upon you, a man who has fought many years to defend your freedom and your most intimate ideals, a man who has fought to awaken in you the serene and free conscience of your loving mission and your social duties, and to create in men the conviction that you are their equals in life. I have never praised you. I spoke to you with the loyal harshness of a comrade, but I also gave my words a blue aura of hope, for it elevates and dignifies everything, and I always believed you to be biological and social seeds which did not fully flourish because men did not know how to make of themselves gardeners of so many splendid female sprouts)

pamphlets for *milicianos* was commonplace, the doctor or writer becoming the male soldier's friend or a fellow soldier as in the case of Dr. Astro: "Miliciano, no soy Astro ni Doctor, sino un veterano de la Gran Guerra, que deseó desde el primer instante poner su experiencia a tu servicio" (Astro, back cover).<sup>299</sup>

Despite the fact that the male soldier's lack of personal hygiene, unsafe sex and lack of discipline endangered the Republican cause, unlike wartime calls of hygienists and doctors directed to women at the front, humor was the most obvious signal that the relationship between male author and male reader was based on equality. Some examples for cleanliness and hygiene used funny metaphors of lice as a silent, fascist enemies which attacked by surprise: "guerra al piojo, enemigo solapado, es por la noche cuando nos acecha y cuando nos invade" (Fuente Hita 6); the new "elegant" trend for soldiers was shaving their heads to eliminate parasites (Astro 5). Dirtiness had a "tufillo Católico" of disgust for the body: "despide en cierta manera un tufillo católico. Va pareja con el horror al desnudo y la idea del pecado atribuido al cuerpo" (Astro 17). The State owned the tobacco company, *Tabacalera*, became a lice killer since the use of tobacco was a common remedy for this problem: "esos parásitos, incapaces de resistir las labores de la Tabacalera, mueren y se desprenden de la piel, en donde viven incrustados" (Astro 7). Finally, "Venus y Marte" (love and war) were related to Mercury, god of eloquence, commerce and thieves (37), referring to the use of this metal in curing syphilis.<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>299</sup> (Militia man, I am not neither Astro nor Doctor, but a veteran of the Great War, who wished to put his experience at your service)

<sup>300</sup> (war against lice, hidden enemies which attack and invade us at night; gives away certain Catholic stink. It goes together with the horror against nakedness and the idea of bodily sin; those parasites, incapable of resisting the work of Tabacalera, die and fall off the skin, where they attach themselves)

War was even compared with a team sport, in which “los combatientes deben someterse al regimen alimenticio de los deportistas” (Astro 14), a regimen which avoided alcohol and intercourse to retain vigor.<sup>301</sup> *Hay que evitar ser tan bruto como el soldado Canuto* (1937) was a extremely popular comic strip first published in the newspaper *La voz del combatiente*, and then compiled in a volume due to its success. The clown-soldier Canuto became the role model for *milicianos* to avoid in matters of personal cleanliness and front discipline, but soldiers could also identify with the problems he encountered at the battlefield and raised the regiment’s morale by having a good laugh at his silly adventures.

The female audience of *Mensaje eugénico a la mujer*, however, made this war pamphlet very different from the ones addressed at male *milicianos*. Besides the typical sublimation of the brave “mujeres del pueblo,” which also was present in literature for *milicianos*, Dr. Martí degraded some *milicianas* to impose all women fighting against fascism the correct course of action during the war. Dramatic exclamation, sarcasm, imperatives, together with flattering poetic passages, were Dr. Martí Ibáñez’s “arsenal” of discursive strategies in order to achieve his goal of retiring women from the battlefield.

Female frivolousness, which embodied a sexual threat for male soldiers, and angelic ingenuity, which made women unfit for bloody confrontation, were used to encourage women to go back to the rearguard. Bourgeois magazines such as *Mujer* and *Cultura* and anarchist novellas like Montseny’s *Una mujer y dos hombres* had employed imagery of female heroism to express women’s ability to achieve any goal in life, even those vetoed for women such as “manly” female professions. In Dr. Martí Ibáñez’s case, female

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<sup>301</sup> (combatants must submit to the diet of sportsmen)

heroism resembled prescriptions of the traditional angel model in two points: the intention of his pamphlet was restrictive and “disciplinary.” It intended to veto female participation at the front. Unlike magazines which addressed women from equal to equal, his authority as a male doctor was exerted by ordering women bluntly to stay away from male *milicianos*.

In *Mensaje eugénico a la mujer* women were also surrounded by a halo of heroism and righteousness to appeal to the reader’s pride and “gild the pill” which was to come in later pages. This probably were very striking orders for Martí Ibáñez’s female comrades considering the previous anarchist literature during the Republic, which tried to convince women of their capacity and right to work and toil hand in hand with males. Like past heroines, women were welcome to join the revolution, and their role was depicted as essential in the war. Some examples used were Mariana Pineda during Fernando VII’s repressive government at the beginning of the nineteenth century (the choice was symbolic, for she was accused of sewing a flag against the king) and British abolitionist Josephine Butler, who achieved the banning of prostitution (Martí Ibáñez 4). However, Dr. Martí Ibáñez was quick to rule out any desire of individual success, which clashed with the anarchist praise of self-fulfillment. He privileged the collective work of the female masses in the rearguard as a way to help bring about progress and a new era of justice and equality. In this way, women needed to become

ejércitos silenciosos y anónimos pero entusiastas y fecundos, de mujeres dispuestas a colocarse a la altura moral del momento y a aceptar el sino del trabajo y sacrificio que el Destino les marca, sin levantar jamás la mano en



demanda de tregua. ¡Ese es vuestro camino y ese vuestro destino! ¡Aceptadlo!

(4-5)<sup>302</sup>

Women's submissiveness in times of turmoil was symbolized by their silence and anonymity, their group work in which not an individual woman stood out, and the elimination of dissent. The idea of destiny, "God's will" in the case of the hygiene manual and woman's mission, was an awkward reference considering anarchist ideals. Even the idea of fertility (*ejércitos fecundos*) was related exclusively to work in the home front, while fighting with males stood for a sterile endeavor. In pre-war anarchist literature the individual was encouraged to find his/her own way through education, therefore signaling at the fact that there was not a "marked" destiny but a possibility for change as in the case of the ailing working class. Female work in the rearguard was, in this way, "marked by Destiny" while, in reality, it was being marked by the male author.

About *milicianas* joining in the fight with the outburst of the conflict, Dr. Martí Ibáñez was careful not to discursively diminish their worth and courage, but little by little he introduced the thread which guided his argumentation against them: on the one hand the author mentioned the preservation of femininity while, on the other hand, he criticized the negative side of femininity, embodied by bourgeois literature, fashion, beauty and flirtation, all in all, typical female frivolity:

Algunas de vosotras, llevadas de un impulso noble y admirable, marcharon al frente [...] ¡A todas ellas salud! ¡Porque supieron sin perder su feminidad, dar una lección de valor y heroísmo a los hombres! Pero son minoría, están las

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<sup>302</sup> (silent and anonymous but enthusiastic and fertile armies of women willing to place themselves at the moral level of this moment and accept the fate of work and sacrifice which Destiny has marked for them, without even raising their hands to demand a truce. That is your way and your destiny! Accept it!)

otras. Las que creyeron que ésta era una guerra de novela. Las envenenadas por la literatura burguesa [...] (7)<sup>303</sup>

To ridicule bourgeois “literatura bonita,” its style was reproduced and contrasted to the shocking reality of war. Images of ivy, singing birds, flowers, and beautiful soldiers, a romantic scenario representing the frivolous woman’s imagination of how war looked like, was interrupted abruptly when the doctor brought women down to reality. “This is not a moment for love,” and “war is not like that.”

No es un escenario romántico, en el cual soldados con el casco florido y un vergel de ensueños en la frente, hacen la guardia junto a un muro cubierto de líricas madreselvas oyendo en la lejanía un piar de avecilla que es un hilo de cristal [...] Ni es éste el momento de amar, ni es así la Guerra. Esa muchacha novelesca y sentimental está en el frente excitando pasiones que hoy deben trasmutarse en energías de lucha y no despilfarrarse en escarceos eróticos. No es la muerte chiquita del amor, sino la muerte trágica, despanzurrado por unas bayonetas, despedazado por un obús, traspasado el corazón por una bala, la que amenaza. Y a hombres que viven en trance de muerte, no les pidas, miliciana romántica, que miren los guiños de oro de una estrella, porque ellos saben que si no miran el fango, corren peligro de muerte. (9)<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> (Some of you, driven by a noble and admirable impulse, marched to the front [...] Hail to all these women! Because they knew how to give men a lesson in bravery and heroism without losing their femininity! However, they are a minority, there are the others. Those who believed that this was a novel war. Those women poisoned by bourgeois literature)

<sup>304</sup> (It is not a romantic scene, in which soldiers with a helmet full of flowers and a garden of dreams on their foreheads guard a wall covered in lyric ivy and listen to the crystal clear songs of little birds [...] This is not the moment for love, War is not like that. That novelesque girl who comes to the front is exciting passions in men which must be transformed in energy to fight, energy which cannot be wasted in erotic flirts. This is not the little death of love, but a tragic death of soldiers disemboweled by bombs, their hearts

Against the romantic depictions of war in bourgeois literature, war was presented as cruel and ruthless, and men as needing all their concentration and strength to be able to guard off a horrible death, an effort for which women became a fatal distraction. In this way, women were paternalistic essentialized through sentimentality, which for the author made them not only unfit for the fight, but a danger for soldiers and victory. Contradicting the doctor's argument that women could not stand the sight of blood and wounds, nursing, however, was accepted as an appropriate female endeavor during the war. In this case women's courage and worth were not questioned.

Similarly to conservative bourgeois manuals which connected frivolity with foreign customs and fashion, the frivolous *milicianas* curled their hair under their berets, they used a gun to "epatar" (a French term meaning "dazzle," "astonish," used in fashion reviews), they used pants to look like a magazine "girl" (in English, signaling at foreign fashion and customs as frivolous) and blue overalls to complete this "toilette." These frivolous *milicianas* dreamt with being Joan Crawford, and were looking forward to meeting photogenic blond soldiers to flirt with, but fainted when they saw blood.

The title of the pamphlet, *Mensaje eugénico a la mujer*, finally came to the forefront when discussing the role of these *milicianas* in exciting the male soldiers and spreading venereal disease. The shadow of sexual taint and promiscuity, which had traditionally been applied to active or intelligent women, once more loomed large on the women fighting at the front. Like female activists such as Kent, Campoamor or Nelken before the war, *milicianas* "were made to feel like misfits because they had transgressed the societal

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pierced by bullets. Militia woman, do not ask men who are in danger of dying to look at the golden sparkles of a star, because they know that, if they don't look down to the muddy ground, they risk death)

rules that required women to remain in the shadow of men” (Mangini 9). Supposedly, Martí Ibáñez’s eugenic intention, reflected on the criticism against the “flirty” *miliciana*, was to eliminate the danger of prostitution and venereal disease at the battlefield, blamed exclusively on women by this doctor without even considering male responsibility in the problem. The author believed the presence of women at the front excited the male soldier’s passion and forced him to waste his energy, which should be economized and channeled towards victory (7-8). With the excuse of women’s debasement through sex, conveyed by the animal term “hembra” against the human “mujer,” the female reader was told to wait for better times to join males in a “human to human” relationship, instead of exploiting males’ animal urges in times of war. Contradictorily, *milicianos* were also portrayed as “champions of an ideal.” The doctor’s prescription for the woman fighter was

Vuélvete allá y ven a la retaguardia. Hoy, ellos son heroes de bronce. Atlantes del Ideal, grandes en sus cívicas virtudes, pero también en sus pasiones e instintos. Hoy tan solo verán en ti a la hembra, mañana verán la mujer. ¡Ven a trabajar en la retaguardia, a coser, a planchar, a hacer fortificaciones, a escribir en una oficina, a cuidar heridos, en vez de ir allá a encender antorchas eróticas en el pecho sereno de los milicianos populares o a sembrar discordias entre ellos! (9)<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> (Go back to the rearguard. Today these men are bronze heroes. Atlantic figures of the Ideal, great in their civic virtues, but also in their passions and instincts. Now they will only see the female in you, tomorrow they will see the woman. Come to work in the rearguard, sewing, ironing, building parapets, writing in an office, tending to wounded soldiers, instead of going to the front to light up the torch of eroticism in the serene chest of popular militia men, or to sow disagreement between them!)

In this way, during the war anarchist views on sexual self-fulfillment and freedom were adapted to the circumstances, especially in the case of women. Discourse on sexual restraint became omnipresent in manuals and pamphlets for *milicianos* as a guarantee to victory. *Milicianas* went from being inspiring heroines to instigators of male sexuality and a source for venereal contagion and military defeat.

Besides demonizing the frivolous *miliciana*, Dr. Martí Ibáñez idealized female work at the rearguard to encourage women to go back from the front to industries abandoned by men, or to sewing machines as a way to redeem themselves of their previous paid work. The rearguard symbolized going back to a beautiful and dignified life as free workers:<sup>306</sup> “All to work!” he exclaimed, “lo que no debéis tolerar, en honor de vosotras mismas, es que ni un solo día más se paseen las niñas bonitas luciendo el mono azul, la pistola de nácar, y los correajes charolados” (14).<sup>307</sup> The Republic had granted women rights, now it was the time for duties, the author exclaimed cheerfully: “todas en pie [...] aprestaos para la lucha. ¡Abandonad todo el lastre de vuestros añejos prejuicios y acudid a la brecha! (5).<sup>308</sup> However, this “brecha” (the site of work) was not at the battlefield and, ironically, the doctor was asking women to shed old prejudices about work and gender roles, while also endorsing typical bourgeois prejudice against female participation in the public sphere: frivolity and women’s whimsical nature.

In contrast to the praise of women who worked in the rearguard, exclamation and the paternalistic imposition of the male voice over that of women was directed to those

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<sup>306</sup> On the cover of the pamphlet a woman sitting behind a sewing machine awaits a male soldier who walks towards her, spreading his arms in an attempt to embrace her.

<sup>307</sup> (what you must not tolerate, to honor yourselves as women, is that those cute women, boasting of their blue overalls, pistols with mother-of-pearl butts and shiny belts spend one more day at the front)

<sup>308</sup> (all of you, stand up, get ready to fight. Abandon the burden of old prejudice and come to work!)

females who were still undecided. “Go back to the rearguard, war is man’s business! Martí Ibáñez exclaimed, and called openly for the “elimination” of females from the frontlines:

Pisando ya el nuevo escenario de vuestra futura existencia, no podéis despedir vuestra antigua vida, yendo a sembrar de males venéreos el frente de batalla. ¡No! Los milicianos, si caen, que sea por una bala y no por una enfermedad venerea que hoy les arrincone en un Hospital y mañana les convierta en una fuente de contagio para su familia. ¡Retornad a la retaguardia! La guerra es cosa de hombres. [...] La enfermedad venerea debe ser extirpada del frente, y para ello hay que eliminar previamente a las mujeres. (13)<sup>309</sup>

Aware of the ideological contradictions the aggressiveness of this pamphlet presented to anarchist females, especially regarding female equality and ability, in the conclusion Dr. Martí Ibáñez apologized for his aggressive tone throughout the piece, and justified it alluding to sincerity, “la pureza de la desnudez leal.”<sup>310</sup> This purity stood for the anarchist ideal of clarity versus obscurity, of culture and conscience against ignorance, which was embodied stylistically by texts such as Dr. Poch y Gascón’s and her criticism of bourgeois self-censorship and circumlocutions when dealing with sexuality. Similarly, Dr. Martí Ibáñez presented his admonitions as pure, naked, loyal, suggesting that the anarchist way of addressing women was direct, sincere and, thus, manly, blunt and “fierce.”

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<sup>309</sup> (In the threshold of your future existence, you must not bid farewell to your old life by sowing the front with venereal diseases. No! If militia men must die, let them die of a bullet wound but now of a venereal disease which would corner them in a hospital, and tomorrow would transform them in a source of contagion for his family. Go back to the rearguard. War is man’s business! [...] Venereal disease must be extirpated from the front and, to do this, first of all, we have to eliminate women)

<sup>310</sup> (the purity of loyal nakedness).

Os he hablado con rudeza. Disculpadme, pero no me creería amigo vuestro a no haberos hablado con palabras desnudas, con la pureza de la desnudez leal. Y vosotras, en gracia a mi intención, comprenderéis la cruda fiereza de mi lenguaje. Soy hombre y para hablar a las mujeres he deseado hacerlo con toda lealtad como es mi norma. (15)<sup>311</sup>

Anarchists positioned bourgeois insincerity, circumlocutions, and romantic descriptions, lies and manipulation, like in the novels many of the frivolous *milicianas* used to read according to this doctor, on the other side of the scale of discursive devices. The frivolous *miliciana* stood for these novels and their style, for, according to Martí Ibáñez, they aimed to “ensnare” the innocent *miliciano* into dangerous flirtation and intercourse.

The contradiction in this anarchist doctor’s work resides in the fact that many of the stylistic strategies he used were the same employed in the past to manipulate bourgeois females into angelic roles. Dr. Poch y Gascón’s style, although she was an anarchist, was very different from her male colleague’s. At times she used metaphors to illustrate her message, but was much more direct and did not contradict her own claim of simplicity by avoiding flowery rhetoric to guide women to a desirable role. Most importantly, she did not blame sexual problems on women exclusively. Similarly to the nineteenth century angelic temple of the home and its role in the prosperity of the nation, in *Mensaje eugénico a la mujer* God’s will and woman’s mission became “destiny,” a way to bring about a new, better society based on anarchist ideals. The angelic safe haven of the home

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<sup>311</sup> (I have spoken to you with rudeness. Forgive me, but I would not consider myself your friend if did not talk to you with naked words, with the purity of loyal nakedness. Gracefully considering my intentions, you will understand the crude fierceness of my language. I am a man and when speaking to women, I have wished to do it with all my loyalty, as it is customary in me)

became the rearguard, and the angelic motherly sacrifice of woman's "self" for others amounted to domestic duties in the rearguard such as cooking, sewing for soldiers, caring for orphans, the ill and the wounded. Tutelage of the female by the male expert was behind both.

Traditional hygiene manuals, eugenic literature, feminist bourgeois magazines, anarchist novellas and leftist and anarchist war pamphlets all shared the idea of the democratization of culture; of making knowledge which was monopolized before by the medical experts and academics accessible to a wider public. Consciousness was an obsession for feminists during the Second Republic. They wished to culturally prepare women for the changes implemented by the new government such as the vote and divorce. Bourgeois eugenicists and hygienists provided men and women with information about a healthy lifestyle, reproduction and how conduct could affect descendants, for example alcohol and meat consumption, the use of tobacco or a sedentary life. Anarchist eugenicists aimed to provide the working class with the knowledge to be able to exercise conscious parenthood to relief their poor living conditions and ensure a healthy, strong offspring. Some anarchists, although not all, went a little bit further and endorsed contraception to alleviate the physical and economic impoverishment of the working class.

All these health divulgators shared discrepancies and contradictions about the extent of female emancipation. This was apparent in the case of the eugenic reform launched by socialist activists such as Hildegart, bourgeois doctors such as Gregorio Marañón and Dr. Vital Aza, or anarchist doctors such as Dr. Amparo Poch y Gascón and Dr. Martí Ibáñez. Some examples are whether to endorse contraception, what elements defined



femininity (whether to present maternity as a must in women's lives) or what jobs and duties were more in accordance with the female "essence." Contradiction was apparent in anarchist literature as well, especially in the case of male authors during with the outbreak of the Civil War. These contradictions stood out due to the fact that, for anarchists, awareness through culture had to be free of religious and gender bias which aimed to indoctrinate and dominate the reader; indoctrination which had been traditionally achieved by means of flowery, paternalistic and religious style.

Equality and the elimination of domination of entrepreneur over worker, the Church and State over the population, men over women, supposedly were reflected in a more direct style full of inspiring content, a style which would prepare the masses for a better, just future to come. The same tenets of naturism, vegetarianism and nudism were to be applied to the anarchist text: it had to inspire a healthy, natural life devoid of bourgeois prudishness and hypocritical double standards. This lifestyle was thought to bring about a world devoid of the physical and economic domination of some individuals over others. Federica Montseny's *Una mujer y dos hombres* tried to set an example of such a harmonious life, a free union of two conscious individuals in which conflict came from the male partner's bourgeois ideas on infidelity. Like the relationship between Laura and Jorge, for an anarchist text to work and get its message across, it had to transpire comradeship, a sense of friendship or equality between author and reader, conveyed by the nakedness of style. It had to differentiate its content and style from bourgeois discourses such as that of hygiene. Ideas had to be naked, out in the open, not hidden by circumlocutions or idealized.

Unfortunately, like in Laura and Jorge's case, this became an illusion when males were confronted with the reality of war. Similarly to Jorge, who reacted with bourgeois rage to Laura's pregnancy, Dr. Martí Ibáñez dressed his seemingly "naked" text with typical bourgeois admonitions on frivolity, the essence of femininity, and the dangers of female sexuality for the male, righteous, bronze-like *miliciano* hero with "sure and calm chest." Once more, like in the case of turn-of-the-century images of energy-sucking vampires, the gender ambivalent female was presented as a threat to maleness, victory and, even worse, the dawn of a new era of anarchist justice and equality. Within months of the outbreak, *milicianas* were retired from front duty and sent to the rearguard.

The victory of the fascist rebels in 1939 frustrated the anarchist revolutionary project, and the nineteenth century ideal of the angel was imposed with renewed and brutal strength on the female population. All the reforms implemented by the Republic were overturned. For Francoists, *milicianas* became a laughing stock, a great example of the aberrant, unnatural, chaotic Republic and the "red domination" of otherwise righteous Spaniards. They became an image of a horrid world "upside down" which was turned back to order by Franco.

The formula for any decent woman during Francisco Franco's dictatorship, embodied by Catholic manuals such as the *Muchacha* collection, the negation of the female self, body and mind, to sacrifice it for others. This was the ideal during the hardships of the postwar. Silence, submissiveness, hard work, a sense of a greater good and sacrifice for others; the importance of community and family as pillars of national physical and moral health; ridiculing female frivolity; motherhood as the natural essence of every woman; marriage as the primary goal and female work and knowledge as undesirable...

Ironically, this formula for women's happiness and success sounded quite familiar for even the most emancipated and daring of women during the Republic and the Civil War.

## Conclusion

¡S.O.S! muchacha. Peligro a la vista. Unos golpes de remo y llegas a un paso difícil lleno de escollos y remolinos [...]. Adopta precauciones. Cierra tus oídos a las insinuaciones del mal, puestas en el pentagrama de la moda, de la aventura, del derecho a *vivir tu vida*; no escuches los consejos desaconsejados de quienes no estén dispuestos a sacrificarse por ti. Yo me brindo a prestarte ayuda. Para eso escribo el presente libro [...] (Enciso Viana *La muchacha en el noviazgo* 1947, 8-9)<sup>312</sup>

“Danger, young girl, life is a sea full of reefs and whirlpools,” Father Enciso Viana warned the young girl in his *Muchacha* collection manuals in the early years of Franco’s dictatorship, after the defeat of the Republican army and the tragic end to the Spanish Civil War. This Catholic priest considered female aspirations apart from women’s traditional roles as wives and mothers, and the right to *live your life* and enjoy yourself, the most dangerous of these reefs. The fiction of a lurking danger against which law-abiding, decent Spanish citizens had to be on guard, was used systematically during Franco’s regime to demonize the defeated and justify Franco’s iron-hand absolute rule after the war. The Republic and its supporters were portrayed as blood-thirsty criminals who had attempted to destroy all which was sacred and essentially Spanish and, fortunately, had failed: the hearth and the traditional family, marriage, religion. Female

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<sup>312</sup> All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.  
Enciso Viana, Emilio. *La Muchacha en el Noviazgo*. (Young girl when dating). Madrid: Studium, 1947. (S.O.S young girl! Danger! Row a little bit and you will be arriving at a difficult pass in your life, full of rocks and whirlpools [...]. Take precautions. Close your ears to evil insinuations, written on the stave of fashion, of adventure, of the right to *live your life*; don’t listen to the wrong advice of those who are not willing to sacrifice for you. I offer myself to help you. That is why I’m writing this book)

figures such as the *miliciiana* became symbols of an aberrant Republic which promoted “chaos” and “anarchy.” She was a horrid hybrid of man and woman, a physical and moral aberration which the regime made stand for Republican “twisted” ideals. In contrast to this ambiguous figure, the regime’s propaganda depicted Franco as a strict but just father figure, a knight in shining armor. He brought chaos and anarchy back into order; physical and moral excess and political extremes to the desirable and comfortable middle ground hygienists marketed during the nineteenth century. Propaganda, images and discourse, were essential to create the threat which kept the regime together and endowed Franco with an almost messianic power.

In the same way, a century prior to Franco’s dictatorship and Father Enciso Viana’s admonitions, hygiene and the means to propagate it, manuals, thrived thanks to the creation of the same fictions: the threat of physical and moral degeneracy of the Spanish population brought about by foreign goods and fashions, new literary trends, and new sexual and gender standards. In nineteenth century Spain, doctors joined priests in becoming father figures who “knew better.” Supposedly the Spanish population, if lost to its own instincts and will, would self-destruct. For this fiction to hold, another fiction had to be ratified scientifically with the help of centuries of gender bias: the fiction of women’s physical and moral inferiority in relation to men. This fiction provided a scapegoat for many of the worries raised during this period, and a rationale for the control and supervision by doctors - the representatives of the status quo- over the Spanish household. Hence, hygienists used discourse to make women the weaker link in the chain of the Spanish nation and the preferred target for the male doctor’s guidance. The

importance of their reproductive capacity and the education they provided their offspring, future citizens of Spain, became the base which legitimized the hygiene project.

In a similar fashion to the portrayal of Franco as a fighter keeping at bay demonic and evil forces such as Communism and Anarchism, hygienists portrayed themselves as Spain's saviors, even as saviors of humanity as a whole, by supervising the physical but also the moral development of Spanish women. Hygienists represented women as unstable by nature, an idea which dated back to Greek philosophy and mythology, Hippocratic medicine and Biblical texts. In the same way to Father Enciso Viana, free from any supervision, which posed as a sacrifice of the hygienist to guide the reader, women were said to succumb to the perilous temptations around her: sex, consumerism, and the desire to stray from her traditional role within the family. Against this evil, the manual became a reinforcement of the paternal authority of the doctor in flesh and blood.

Nevertheless, there was one feature in hygiene manuals which endangered this project: the manual's nature was contradictory and its language was a hybrid of tradition and modernity. The position of hygienists was ambiguous for their manuals provided lay people with an unprecedented opportunity to acquire medical knowledge which would emancipate them from premature death and miserable living conditions, but not necessarily from the ideology and power of the State. Class, nation, gender and hygiene were linked tightly.

In hygiene manuals, middle class women and the "angel of the home" ideal came to represent the perfect middle ground in between two "aberrant" groups, the aristocracy and the proletariat. This middle ground which the manual tried to market and reinforce, as Foucault argues, represented the physical and moral hope for the prevalence of the

bourgeoisie over these competitors. The hygiene manual alleviated the worries of the middle class about the growth of the proletariat in numbers and importance and the bourgeois economic dependence on this sector. In this way, *public hygiene*'s preoccupation with the living conditions of the working class served as a way to discipline and control this emerging group. Similarly, one of the most effective instruments to try to achieve bourgeois supremacy was relating unpatriotic sentiments to the aristocracy, which had the economic means to acquire foreign goods and luxury items. In the nineteenth century, a time of foreign investment and timid industrialization, the hearth the middle class angelic woman cherished and protected came to represent the Spanish nation and its traditions. Hygiene itself was a product of foreign influence, but the idealization of tradition and the creation of a sense of common history and *Spanishness* helped hygienists come to terms with this inherent contradiction. Spain was portrayed as morally superior to other countries and flowery rhetoric, refrains and folklore were proudly displayed to differentiate and essentialize the Spanish people.

Furthermore, in a time in which the central government in Madrid was trying to position itself politically as the center of the Spanish nation, hygienists placed women in the center of public concern as part of this national endeavor. Thus, the idea of preserving the health and traditional morals of bourgeois Spanish women, in contrast to foreign and aristocratic women, was portrayed as having deep repercussions on the prosperity or decay of Spain as a nation. The use of *Spanishness* in relation to bourgeois women and their behavior was also a marketing strategy for the hygiene manual, a way to ensure a loyal audience: flattering the beauty of bourgeois Spanish women and singing the poetic

nature of bourgeois motherhood as the column on which the family and the nation stood. This placed these female readers above women from other countries and other classes.

The link between the hygiene manual and the nation was not severed in the twentieth century. This protean genre adapted to the new times and became more inclusive of new trends and behaviors without losing its traditional essence. Such was the case of female sexuality and eroticism, repressed and pathologized in the nineteenth century, and fostered and exploited in the twentieth century. Regardless of shifts in feminine beauty and conduct standards, conservatives, progressives and libertarians used the idea that women's behavior deeply affected Spanish society and future generations to further their agendas. During Franco's dictatorship, the connection between women and the nation was exploited systematically to eliminate any trace of the social advances in matters of gender achieved during the Republic. Traditional motherhood and family stood for Spanish, Catholic values to legitimize the comeback of the angelic model with full strength during the dictatorship.

Rhetoric devices were instrumental in the different stages of hygiene's development to authorize its mission and the status of the male hygienist. The use of metaphors, similes, symbols, euphemism, circumlocution, exclamation and sentimental semi-literary themes points to the close relationship between hygiene manuals and literary fiction. For a century, both the novel and the manual contributed to the debate over "worrisome" issues such as class differentiation, feminism and the "woman's question," consumerism, modernization and national identity. Sometimes these genres became allies as a marketing strategy addressed to middle class women, who were avid novel readers.



Hence, echoes of hygiene are found in fiction and vice versa; sometimes they became rivals as in the case of realism and radical naturalism.

To gain female readership, providing women with “appropriate” readings became a serious concern in hygiene literature. Hygienists depicted romantic and sentimental literature, supposedly women’s favorites, as a portal to fantasy and sexual excitement and, consequently, to female unruliness. The manual was supposed to counteract the negative effects of literature on the female mind and offer women a healthy, moral and useful substitute. Contradictorily, hygiene manuals borrowed the flowery rhetoric and literary devices used in sentimental literature not only to make the information accessible and interesting and compete with these genres, but to flatter and manipulate the reader into an appropriate conduct. For a century, this rhetoric became hygiene’s signature, despite criticism by fiction writers such as realists and naturalists in the nineteenth century, and by progressive doctors and libertarians in the twentieth century.

Propaganda during Franco’s regime embraced this same rhetoric to convey the poetic nature and timelessness of Spanish morals and traditions. At the same time, like hygienists had done a century earlier, Francoist conduct manuals for women exploited medicine, science and modern technology to coat retrograde ideology with an attractive shine of modernity. In this way, manuals such as the *Muchacha* collection used examples such as batteries, motors, furnaces, radios, speakers, cars and trains, pedagogy and pediatrics, even an “adequate” form of eugenics in Catholic terms (selecting a physically and morally healthy spouse) to guide the young girl into a desired Christian womanhood.

Women writers did not waste time in taking advantage of the cracks, contradictions and *hybridity* of hygiene’s discourses and ideology. The manual as a genre, guiding

women in matters of manners, propriety and home economics, offered female authors the perfect chance to write without suspicion, without losing their femininity or their “angel’s wings.” Brief sections on hygiene and first aid of children were added to these works to offer their readers practical solutions for minor injuries, to be the first line of defense of their families in case of an emergency. Nevertheless, this also served to legitimize women’s writing as something very feminine and, therefore, very proper. Similarly, female writers such as María Pilar Sinués de Marco appropriated the discourse of hygiene to present her heroines as role models for the bourgeois female population. These heroines were natural individuals who followed their motherly instincts in the oppressing, contaminated and dehumanizing atmosphere of modern life and foreign customs. Sinués de Marco’s early alliance with hygiene helped her consolidate a position of prestige as a writer during the Isabeline period.

Other women appropriated the discourse of hygiene to contest it and ridicule it as something from the past, a symbol of bourgeois hypocrisy and fake sentimentality, and a rancid reminder of the limited sphere of action allowed to women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In late nineteenth century, realist novelist Emilia Pardo Bazán dismantled the scientific theories which condemned women to be a perpetual underdeveloped child, a physically and mentally inferior being whose options were limited to the domestic sphere. She attributed women’s disadvantaged condition not to biology but to a faulty education. Her writing exposed the contradictions in medical discourse about women, and portrayed hygiene and doctors as negative elements which intruded on women’s lives causing tragedy. As a result, Pardo Bazán jeopardized the hygienist’s self-representation as women’s savior.

After the medical endorsement of female sexuality in the early decades of the twentieth century, libertarians such as Dr. Poch y Gascón and Federica Montseny followed the same steps when presenting bourgeois male doctors and bourgeois ideology as biased and hypocritical. The male bourgeois hygienist became a symbol of obscurity who tried to misguide women instead of enlightening them. With their manuals and short stories these female authors tried to offer their peers practical, unbiased information about maternity and sexuality. They also fostered women's potential in society apart from their traditional roles, and denied the fact that these roles erased female aspirations and individuality irremediably. The demeaning treatment of *milicianas* during the Civil War, however, proved that Spain was not culturally ready for a radical change in matters of gender and the division of labor. Despite this unfavorable atmosphere, women still made the most out of the opportunity to help and support the Republic and the ideals it represented for the hope of a better future for all.

The women writers' response to male hygienists and their project of creating the perfect middle class housewife opens a venue of research which has not been pursued: the quantitative and qualitative study of the reception of hygiene manuals by the everyday middle class woman, the main target of this genre, and how hygiene's precepts were applied to the household. This project would shed light on how female readers absorbed or negotiated with the information they were presented with within and outside of the home; how they applied, modified, even subverted the expert's teachings to open new doors and gain terrain for female emancipation. In the roots of oppression there is also a hope for rebellion.

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**HIGIENE PUBLICA**, ó ARTE DE CONSERVAR LA SALUD DE LOS PUEBLOS.—Obra aprobada por el Real Consejo de Instrucción pública, y que sirve de texto en las Facultades de Medicina.—Libro muy útil, tambien, para los Gobernadores, Alcaldes y demás empleados en la Administración pública.—*Segunda edición*, revista, aumentada con un *Compendio de Legislación sanitaria de España*, y adornada con los *planos de los lazaretos de Mahon y de Vigo*.—1862: tres gruesos volúmenes en 8.º marquilla. . . . . 60 rs.

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# HIGIENE DEL MATRIMONIO

ó

## EL LIBRO DE LOS CASADOS

EN EL CUAL SE DAN LAS REGLAS É INSTRUCCIONES NECESARIAS PARA CONSERVAR LA SALUD DE LOS ESPOSOS, ASEGURAR LA PAZ CONYUGAL Y EDUCAR BIEN Á LA FAMILIA.

POR

EL DR. D. PEDRO FELIPE MONLAU.

TERCERA EDICION

CONSIDERABLEMENTE AUMENTADA

Y ADORNADA CON GRABADOS INTERCALADOS EN EL TEXTO Y UN ALBUM DE DOCE LÁMINAS QUE REPRESENTAN LAS CEREMONIAS ESPECIALES DE DIFERENTES NACIONES.



MADRID

IMPRENTA Y ESTEREOTIPIA DE M. RIVADENEYRA  
calle del Duque de Osuna, núm. 3.

1865.

Fig. 1. Cover of the third edition of Pedro Felipe Monlau's most successful hygiene manual *Higiene del matrimonio o El libro de los casados*.

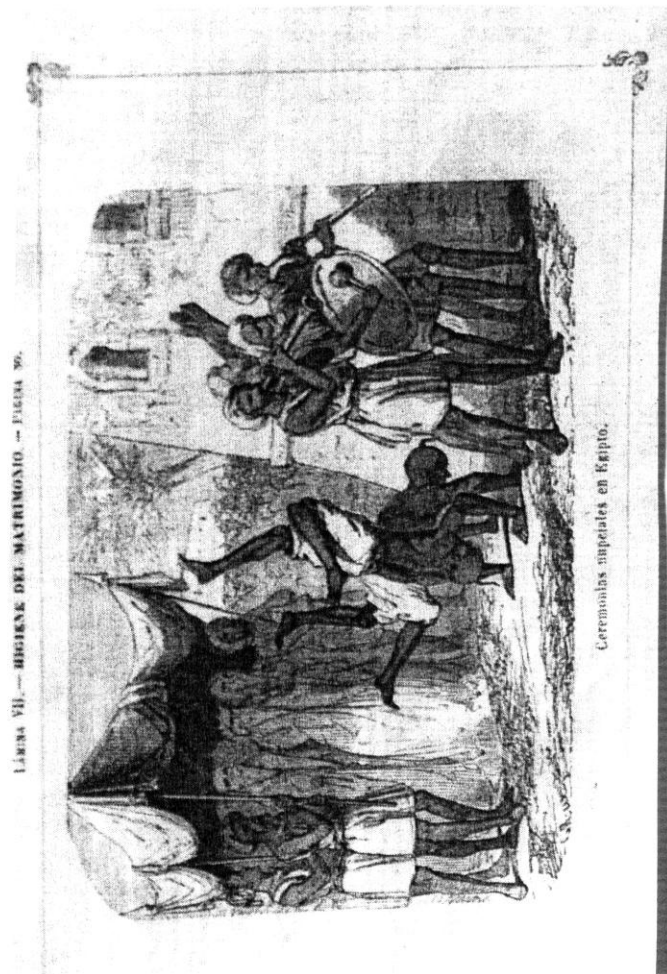


Fig. 2. From Pedro Felipe Monlau's third edition of *Higiene del matrimonio o El libro de los casados*. Madrid: Imprenta y Estereotipia de M. Rivadeneyra, 1865.  
Marriage ceremonies around the world: "Ceremonias nupciales en Egipto."

LAMINA VIII. — HIGIENE DEL MATRIMONIO. — PAGINA 80.



Ceremonias nupciales en Persia.

Fig. 2 (cont.) "Ceremonias nupciales en Persia."

LAMINA IV. — HIGIENE DEL MATRIMONIO. — PAGINA 80.



Ceremonias nupciales en Silesia.

Fig. 2 (cont.) "Ceremonias nupciales en Silesia."

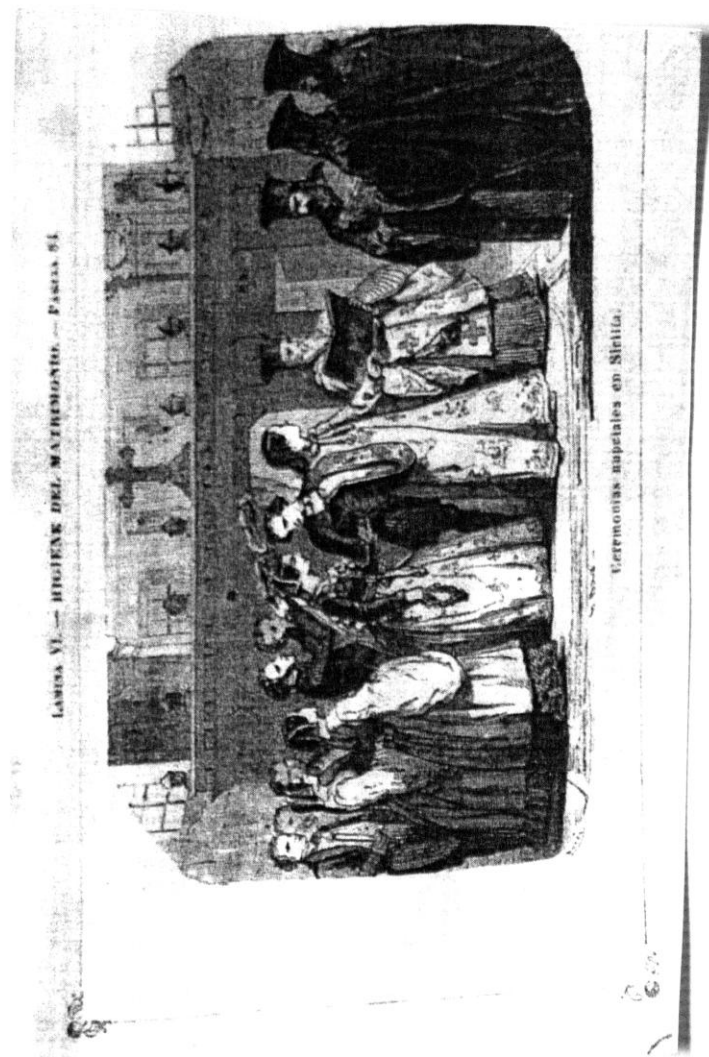


Fig. 2 (cont.) "Ceremonias nupciales en Sicilia."

tos de una membrana mucosa rosada y delicada y no poseen ningún pelo.

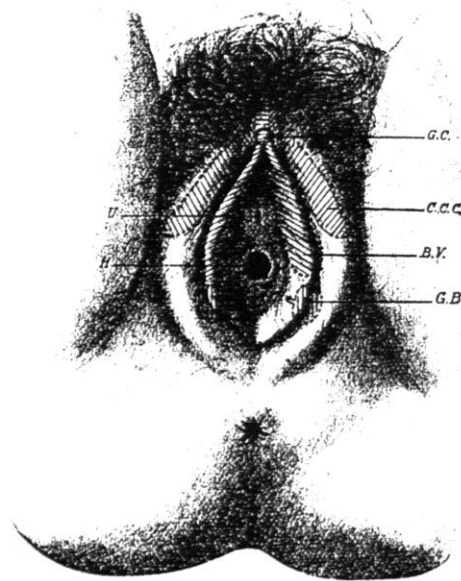


Fig. 2

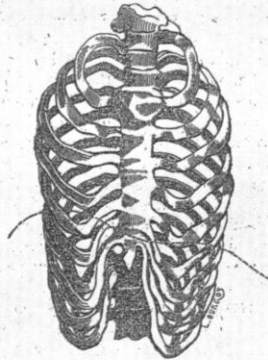
Partes genitales externas de una virgen.

G. C. = Clítoris; U = Orificio de salida de la uretra; H = Membrana Himen (Virgo); C. C. C. = Grandes labios; B. V. = Pequeños labios; G. B. = Glándula de Bartolín.

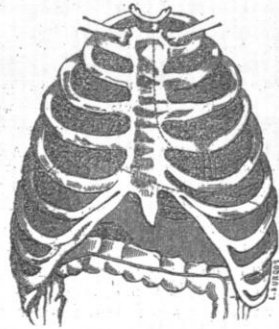
En el lugar en que se encuentran arriba los grandes y pequeños labios, es envuelto por ellos el llamado clítoris, cuyo extremo, semejante a un botoncito, puede sobresalir más o menos. Todas estas partes, pero especialmente el

Fig. 3. Flatau, W.S. *Higiene de la mujer: un consejero y guía para las mujeres y las jovencitas*. Buenos Aires: Ed. Internacional, 1923. This German hygiene manual dates back to 1851.

dotándola de una cavidad torácica deformada, como esta, por



la compresion sempiterna del corsé, privándola de tener un tórax normal y libremente desarrollado; como estotro.



Verdad es que los modernos corsés no deforman el esqueleto femenino tanto, y con tanta crueldad, como lo hacian las coti-

Fig.4. Monlau, Pedro Felipe. *Elementos de higiene privada o arte de conservar la salud del individuo*. Madrid: Moya y Plaza, 1875. Deformities in the female thorax caused by the corset.





**8. Firmeza del seno (continuación del anterior).**

Colocar la mano derecha cubriendo el seno izquierdo, protegiéndole contra una posible uñada en los movimientos siguientes:  
Aplicar la mano izquierda bajo el seno del mismo lado, partiendo de la línea media del pecho, y amasar con dicha mano todo el lado izquierdo, hasta tan atrás como sea posible.

**Efectuar el movimiento diez veces y luego realizar el masaje otras tantas veces en el otro lado, cambiando las manos.**

*Ha de tenerse siempre presente que un masaje no debe ser nunca doloroso*



**9. Firmeza del seno (Ejercicio para tonificar los planos subyacentes de la glándula mamaria).**

Adoptar la misma posición que en el ejercicio precedente para proteger el seno.

Colocar plana la mano izquierda sobre la parte inferior del mismo lado y justamente en éste. Levantar entonces la mano hasta la axila, amasando el músculo serrato anterior mayor.

**Realizar el movimiento diez veces seguidas, y luego otras tantas en la parte opuesta, cambiando las manos.**

*Ha de tenerse siempre presente que un masaje no debe ser nunca doloroso*

Fig. 5. Vaucaire, René. *Consejos íntimos de mi médico, doctor René Vaucaire: la mujer, su salud, su higiene y su belleza*. Barcelona: Impresos Costa, 1929.



**10. Masaje para corregir el excesivo volumen y poca consistencia de los senos.**

Aplicar los dedos planos sobre la circunferencia de la base del seno y amasar en forma de estrella, es decir, que los dedos converjan siempre en el pezón. El masaje deberá hacerse durante **cinco o diez minutos** y partiendo en cada pasada de un punto distinto de la circunferencia de la base del seno.

Este masaje deberá ser efectuado diariamente durante quince días y con un intervalo de quince días de descanso. Es excelente para asegurar la abundancia y regularidad de la secreción láctea en la mujer que está criando, en el supuesto de que le falte leche.

**Ha de tenerse siempre presente que un masaje no debe ser nunca doloroso.**



**11. Masaje para evitar la exuberancia grasosa de los senos.**

Aplicarse los dedos planos en torno del pezón y efectuar el movimiento hasta la base de los senos.

Ejecutar el ejercicio durante unos **cinco minutos aproximadamente** y cambiando cada vez la dirección de las manos desde el punto de partida del pezón (Masaje en forma de estrella).

La presión del masaje deberá ser bastante enérgica.

**Ha de tenerse siempre presente que un masaje no debe ser nunca doloroso.**

Fig. 5 (cont.)

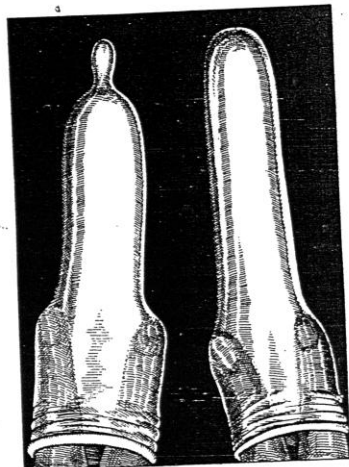


Fig. 30  
El preservativo de goma corriente y el preservativo con depósito para el semen

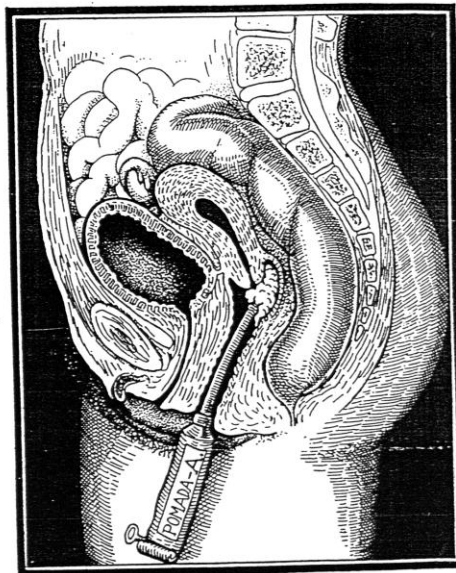


Fig. 37  
La pomada, para ser eficaz, debe depositarse en el fondo de la vagina

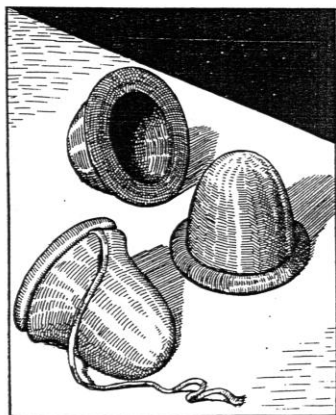


Fig. 29  
Pesario que se pone en el cuello de la matriz

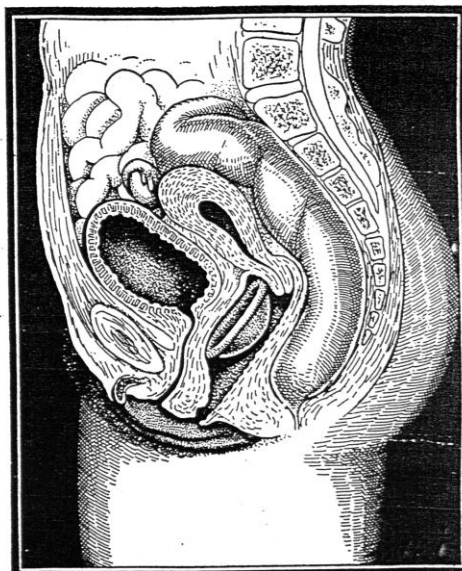
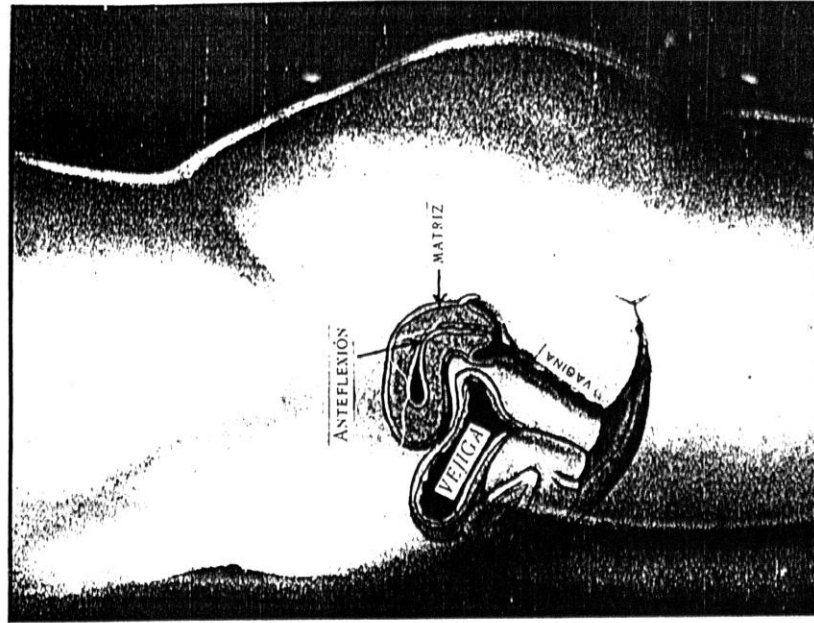
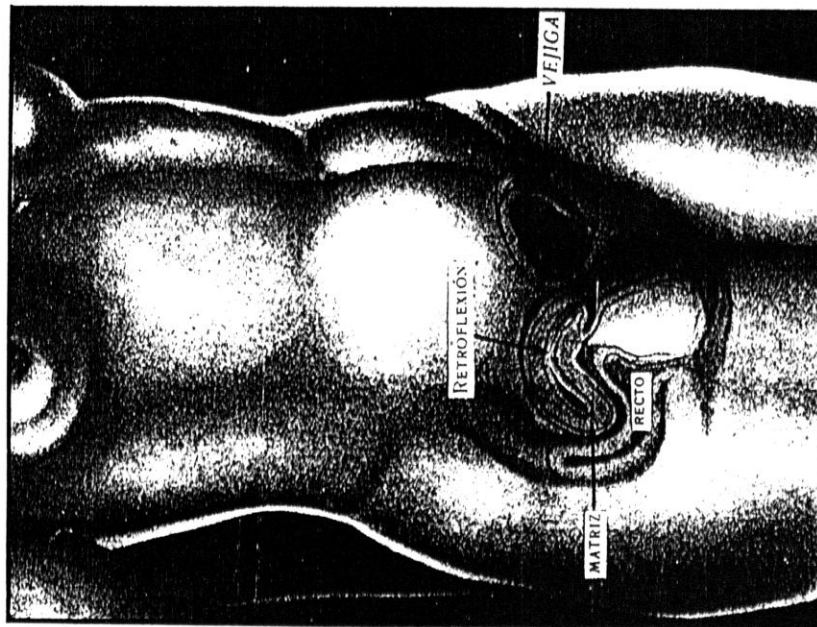


Fig. 33  
Pesario uterino mal colocado

Fig. 6. Dr. Strasborg's *Felicidad y salud en el matrimonio: higiene sexual*. Barcelona: Sola y Ferrer, 1934. Contraceptive devices for males and females.



Flexión de la matriz hacia delante.  
Esta anomalía dificulta la fecundación.



Flexión de la matriz hacia atrás, cayendo contra el intestino (recto). Estado que favorece la esterilidad.

Fig. 6 (cont.) Dr. Strasborg's illustrations of the female reproductive system.

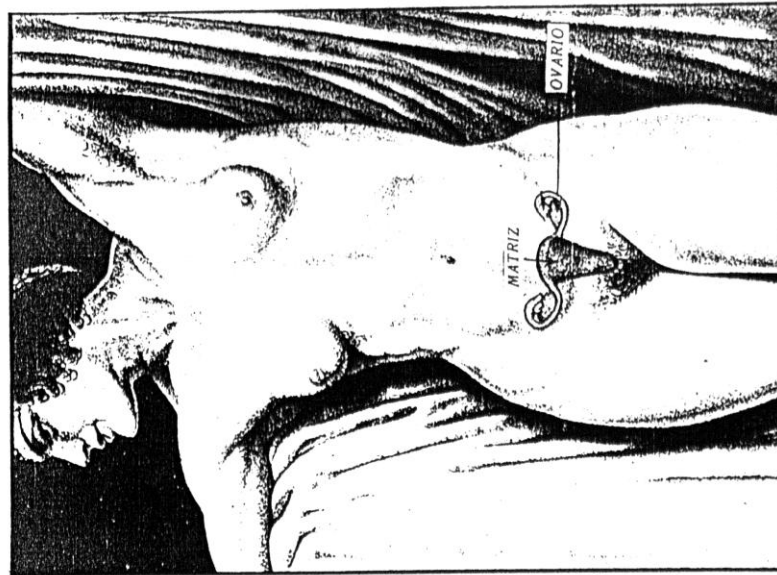
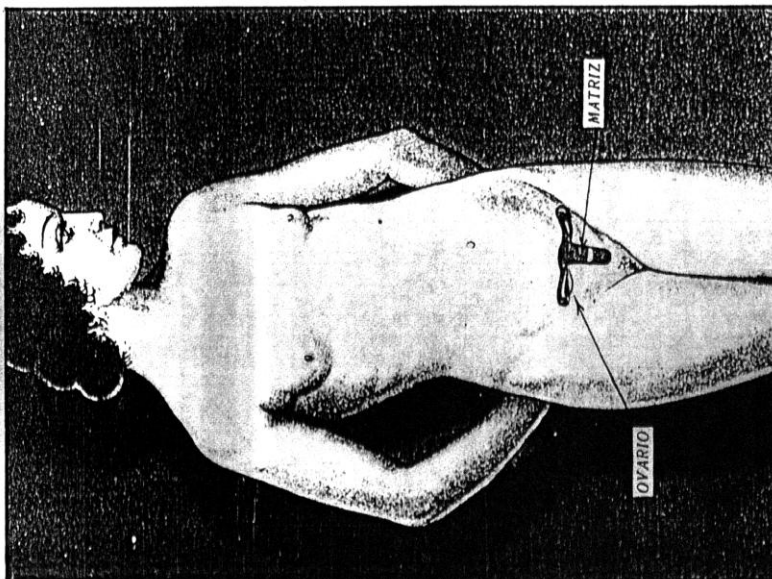
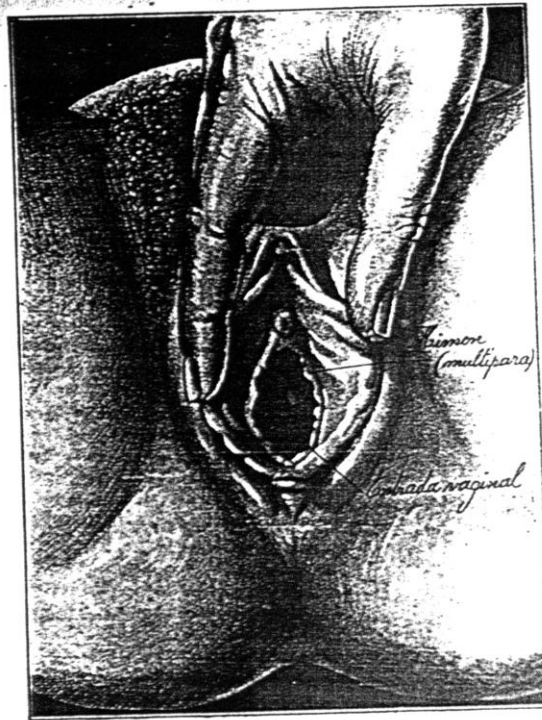


Fig. 6 (cont.) Dr. Starborg's illustrations of a deficient sexual development in women (on the left) in contrast to a normal one. Notice how the normally developed female is portrayed in a sensual and cheerful pose in comparison with the somber "underdeveloped" female.



Entrada vaginal de una mujer multipara. Como puede verse, sólo quedan los bordes del himen.


Fig. 6 (cont.) Dr. Strasborg's illustration on the vagina of a woman after multiple births. Notice how the doctor's hand makes the area visible.



Fig. 7. Multiple authors. *Sección Femenina de Falange Tradicionalista y de la J.O.N.S.* 1940. Milicianas marching to the front, "a sad memory of 'red Madrid' " according to Franco's supporters.



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**CUADERNOS DE CULTURA**  
 PUBLICACIÓN QUINCENAL  
 Director: MARÍN CIVERA


LVI

**LA VIDA SEXUAL DE LA MUJER**

PUBERTAD - NOVIAZGO - MATRIMONIO

por

Amparo Poch y Gascón



REDACCIÓN Y ADMINISTRACIÓN  
 LUIS MOROTE, 44, VALENCIA  
 1932

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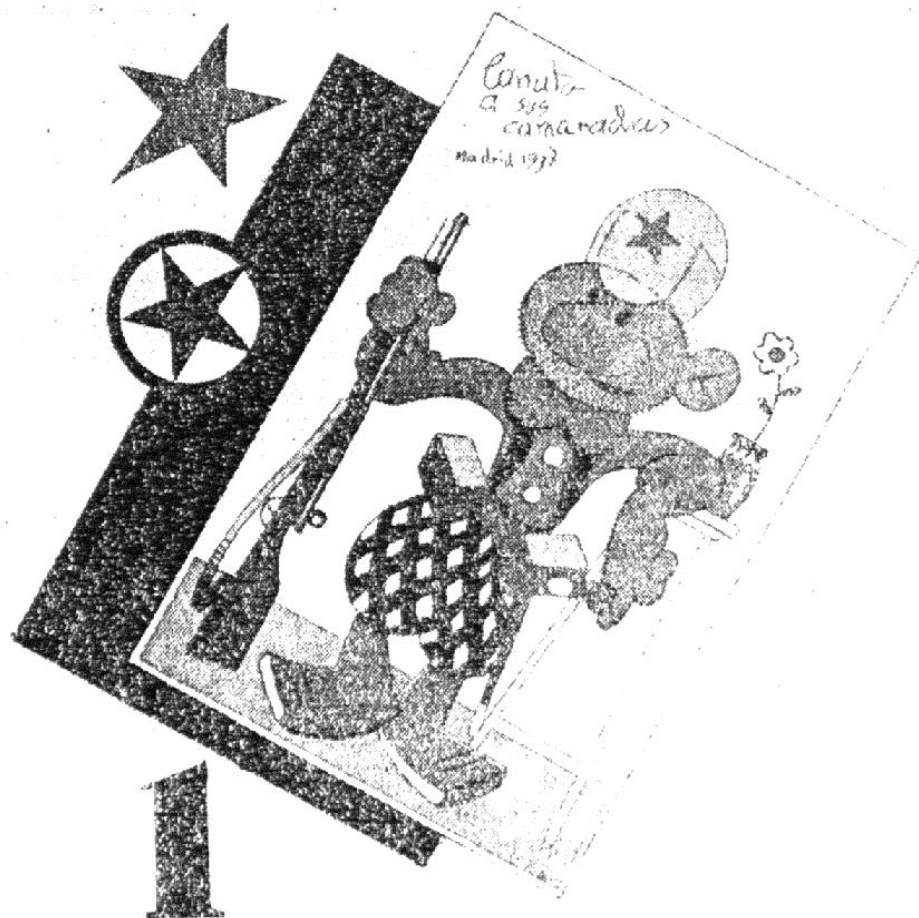
Pídalos a esta Administración, previo envío de su im-  
 porte. Contra reembolso se cargan 0'50 pesetas para gastos  
 de certificado y giro.

Fig. 8. Cover of Dr Amparo Poch y Gascón's *La vida sexual de la mujer: pubertad-noviazgo-matrimonio*. Valencia: Tipografía P. Quiles, 1932.



R-520-666

# HAY QUE EVITAR SER TAN BRUTO COMO EL SOLDADO CANUTO



Estupideces y desventuras de un soldado del Ejército del Pueblo

106750

E R N O P R I M E R O

Fig. 9. Cover of the anonymous *Hay que evitar ser tan bruto como el soldado Canuto. Estupideces y desventuras de un soldado del ejército del pueblo*. Madrid?: Subcomisariado de Agitación y Propaganda del Comisariado General de Guerra, 1937?